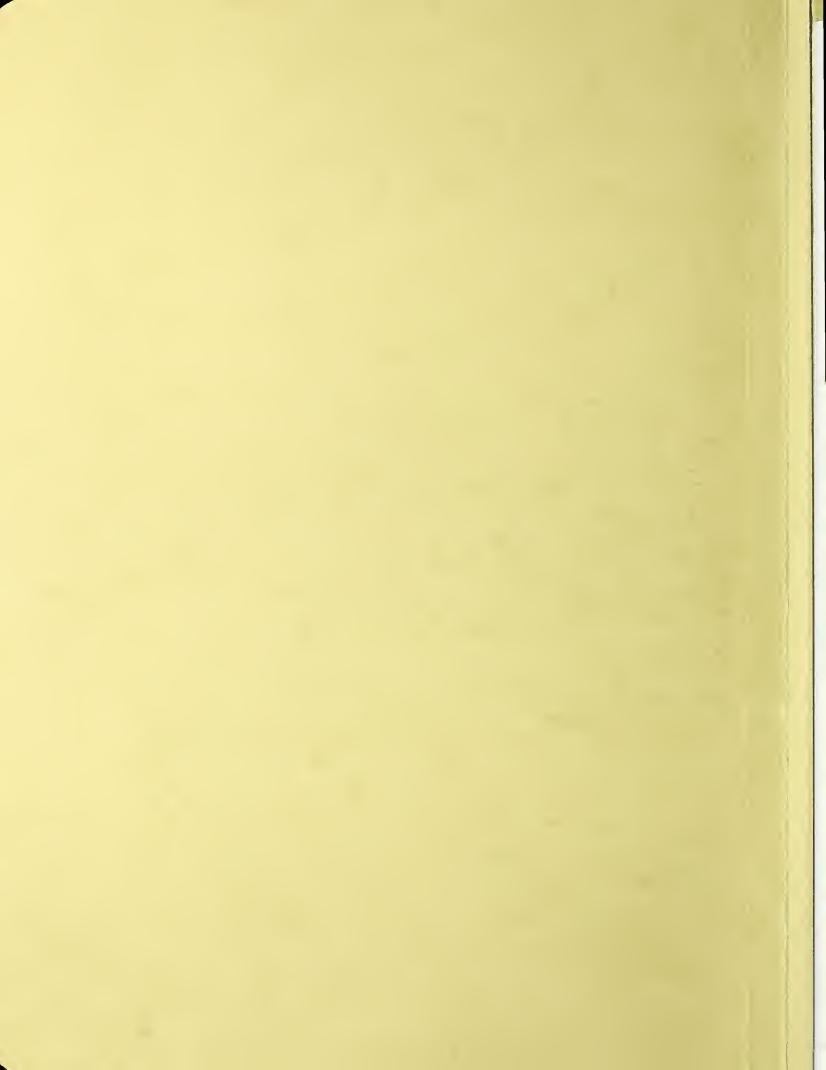
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# Abraham Lincoln's Vice Presidents

**Andrew Johnson** 

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

### TENNESSEE.

Gov. Johnson's Appeal.

The Nashville papers of March 18 contain the following document:—

Fellow-Citizens: - Tennessee assumed the form of a body politic, as one of the United States of America, in the year 1796, at once entitled to all the privileges of the Federal Constitution, and bound by all its obligations. For nearly sixtyfive years she continued in the enjoyment of all her rights, and in the performance of all her duties, one of the most loyal and devoted of the sisterhood of States. She had been honered by the elevation of two of her eitizens to the highest place in the gift of American people, and a third had been nominated for the same high office, who received a liberal though ineffective support. Her population had rapidly and largely increased, and their moral and material interests correspondingly advanced. Never was a people more prosperous, contented and happy than the people of Tennessee under the Government of the United States, and none so little burdened for the support of the authority by which they were protected. They felt their Government only in the conscious enjoyment of the benefits it conferred and the blessings it bestowed.

Such was our enviable condition until within the year just past, when, under what baueful influences it is not my purpose now to enquire, the authority of the Government was set at defiance, and the Constitution and Laws contemned, by a rebellious, armed force. Men who, in addition to ordinary privileges and duties of the citizen, had enjoyed largely the bounty and official patronage of the Government, and have by repeated oaths, obligated themselves to its support, with sudden ingratitude for the bounty and disregard for their solemn obligation, engaged, deliberately and ostentatiously in the accomplishment of its overthrow. Many, accustomed to defer to their opinious and to accept their guidance, and others, carried away by excitement or overawed by seditious clamor, arrayed themselves under their banners, thus organizing a treasonable power, which, for the time being, stifled and suppressed the au-

thority of the Federal Government.

In this condition of affairs it devolved upon the President, bound by his official oath, to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution, and charged by ehe law with the duty of suppressing insurrection and domestic violence, to resist and repel this rebellious force by the military arm of the Government, and thus to re-establish the Federal authority. Congress, assembling at an early day, found him engaged in the active discharge of this momentous and responsible trust. That body came promptly to his aid, and, while supplying him with treasure and arms to au extent that would previously have been considered fabulous, they, at the same time, with almost absolute unanimity, declared, "that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of subjugation, nor purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights of established institutions of these States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease." In this spirit, and by such co-operation, has the President conducted this mighty contest, until, as Commander-in-Chief of the army, he has caused the National flag to float undisputed over the capital of our State. Meanwhile, the State Government has disappeared. The executive has abdicated; the

Legislature has dissolved; the Judiciary is in abeyance. The great ship of State, freighted with its precious cargo of human interests and human hopes, its sails all set, and its glorious flag unfurled, has been suddenly abandoned by her officers and mutinous crew, and left to float at the merey of the winds, and to be plundered by every rover upon the deep. Indeed, the work of plunder has already commenced. The archives have been descerated; the public property stolen and destroyed; the vaults of the State Bank violated, and its treasures robbed, including the funds carefully gathered and consecrated for all time to the instruction of our children.

In such a lamentable crisis, the Government of the United States could not be unmindful of its high constitutional obligation to guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of Government, an obligation which every State has a direct and immediate interest in having observed toward every other State, and from which, by no section on the part of the people in any State, can the Federal Government be absolved. A Republican form of Government, in consonance with the Constitution of the United States, is one of the fundamental conditions of our political existence, by which every part of the country is alike bound, and from which no part can escape. The obligation the National Government is now attempting to discharge. I have been appointed, in the absence of the regular and established State authorities, as Military Governor for the time being, to preserve the public property of the State, to give the protection of law actively enforced to her citizens, and, as speedily as may be, to restore her Government to the same condition as before the existing rebellion.

In this grateful but arduous undertaking, I shall avail myself of all the aid that may be afforded by my fellow-eitizens. And for this purpose I respectfully, but earnestly, invite all the people of Tennessee, desirous or willing to see a restoration of her ancient Government, without distinction of party affiliations, or past political opinions or action, to unite with me, by counsel and co-operative agency, to accomplish this great end. I find most, if not all of the offices, both State and Federal, vacated, either by actual abandonment, or by the action of the incumbents in attempting to subordinate their functions to a power in lostility to the fundamental law of the State, and subversive of her national allegiance. These offices must be filled temporarily, until the State shall be restored so far to its accustomed quiet that the people can peaceably assemble at the ballot-box, and select agents of their own choice. Otherwise anarchy would prevail, and no man's life or property would be safe from the desperate and unprincipled.

I shall, therefore, as early as practicable, designate for various positions under the State and county Governments, from among my fellow-citizens, persons of probity and intelligence, and bearing true allegiance to the Constitution and Government of the United States, who will execute the functions of their respective offices, until their places can be filled by the people. Their authority, when their appointments shall have

beeu made, will be accordingly respected and observed.

To the people themselves, the protection of the Government is extended. All their rights will be duly respected, and their wrongs redressed when made known. Those who through the dark and weary night of the Rebellion have maintained their ellegiance to the Federal government will be honored. The erring and misguided will be welcomed on their return.

And while it may become necessary, in vindicating the violated majesty of the law, and in re-

asserting its imperial sway, to punish intelligent and conscious treason in high places, no merely retaliatory or vindicitive policy will be adopted. To those, especially, who in a private, unofficial capacity have assumed an attitude of hostility to the Government, a full and complete amnesty for all past acts and declarations is offered, upon the one condition of their again yielding themselves peaceful citizens to the just supremacy of the laws. This I advise them to do for their own good, and for the peace and welfare of our beloved State, endeared to me by the associations of long and active years, and by the enjoyment of her highest honors.

And appealing to my fellow-citizens of Tennessee, I point them to my long public life as a pledge for the sincerity of my motives and an earnest for the performance of my present and future duties.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

# New Hampshire Sentinel.

Keene, Thursday Afternoon, April 3, 1862.

### PLON WASHINGTON.

### Arrivel of Vice-President Johnson-His Speech on Taking the Oath.

VALEUICTORY ADDRESS OF SPEAKER COLFAX,

At a quarter to twelve o'clock Vice President Hamlin escorted the Vice President elect into the Senate Chamber, and a few moments afterwards Messrs. Seward, Stanton and Speed entered, and scated themselves to the left of the Chair. The Judges of the Supreme Court entered immediately afterwards, and seated themselves to the right of the Chair.

VICE PRESIDENT HAMLIN'S VALEDICTORY.

At twelve o'clock Mr. Hamlim briefly addressed the Senate, thanking the members for the kindness and consideration that had been shown to him on all occasions.

It was impossible to hear the speech of Mr. Hamlin distinctly, owing to the confusion and conversation continually kept up between the

women in the galleries.

VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON SWORN INTO OFFICE.

Mr. Johnson, before taking the oath of office, made a short speech, which, as in the case of Mr. Hamlim, was nearly inaudible, owing to the want of order which prevailed among the women in the galleries. By the choice of the people, he said, he had been made presiding officer of this body, and, in presenting himself here in obedience to the benests of the constitution of the United States, it would perhaps not be out of place to remark just here what a striking thing the constitution was. It was the constitution of the people of the country, and under it, here to day, before the American Senate, he selt that he was a man and an American citizen. He had a proud illustration of the fact that, under the constitution, a man could rise from the ranks to occupy the second place in the gift of the American government. Those of us who have labored our whole lives for the establishment of a free government, know how to cherish its great blessings. He would say to Senators and others before him -to the Supreme Court which sat before him that they all got their power from the people of this country. Then, turning towards Mr. Chase, Mr. Johnson said:—And your exaltation and position depend ugon the people. Then, turning towards to the Cabinet ministers, he said:—And I will say to you, Mr. Secretary Seward, and to you, Mr. Secretary—(to a gentleman near by, sotto voce, "Who is Secretary of the Navy?" The person addressed replied in a whisper "Mr. Welles")—and to you, Mr. Secretary Welles, I would say, you all derive your power from the people.

Mr. Johnson then remarked that the great clement of vitality in this Government was its nearness and proximity to the people. He wanted to say to all who heard him, in the face of the American people, that all power was derived from the people. He would say in the hearing of the foreign ministers, for he was going to tell the truth nere to-day, that he a plebeian-he thanked God for it. It was the popular heart of this nation that was beating to custain Cabinet officials and the President of the United States. It was a strange occasion that called forth a plebeiau like him to tell such things as these. Mr. Johnson next adverted to affairs in Tennessee, and the abolition of slavery there. He thanked God Tennessce was a State in the Union, and had never been out. The State Government had been discontinued for a time. There had been an interregnum; a hiatus; but she had never been out of the Union. stood here to-day as her representative. On this day she would elect a Governor and a Legislature, and she would very soon send Senators and members to Congress.

Mr. Johnson then took the oath of office, and Mr. Hamlin declared the Senate acjourn-

ed sine die.

VALEDICTORY OF SPEAKER COLFAX.

Mr. Colfax, in taking leave of the members of the House, said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-TIVES-The parting hour has come, and yonder gtock, which takes note of time, will soon announce that the Congress of which we are members has passed into history. Honored by your vote with this responsible position, I have faithfully striven to perform its always complex and often perplexing duties without partisan bias, and with the sincerest impartiality. Whether I have realized the true ideal of a just presiding officer, aiding, on the one hand, the advance of the public ousiness, with the responsibility of which the majority is charged, and, on the other, allowing no trespass on the parliamentary right's of the minority, must be left for others to decide. But looking back now over the ettire Congress, I cannot remember a single word addressed to you which

Dying I would wish to blot,

On this day, which, by spontaneous consent, is being observed wherever our slag illoats as a day of national rejoicing, with the roar of cannons greeting the rising sun on the rock bound coast of Maine, re-echoed and re echeed by answering volleys from city to city, and from thountain peak to mountain peak, till, from the goiden gate, they dis away, far out on the Paci-fic, we mingle our congratulations with those of the freemen we represent, over the victories for the Union that have made the winter just clos-ing, close with joy and hope. With them we replace that the national standard which our v.volutionary fathers unfurled over the land. but which rebellion sought to strike down and destroy, waves as undisputed at this hour over the cradle of a runion at Charleston as over the cradle of liberty at Faneuil Hall, and the whole firmament is aflame with the briltient glow of triumph for that cause. have but recently celebrated the birthday of the Father of his Country and renewed our pledge to each other that the nation he founded should not be sundered by the hand of treason, and the good news that assures the salvation of the Republic, is doubly joyous, because it tells us that the prayers of the last four years have not been unanswered, and the priceless blood of our brave defenders, so freely shed and so profusely spilt, has not been shed in vain. We turn too, to day, with a prouder joy than ever before to that banner, brilliant with stars from the heavens and raidiant with glories from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, from Lundy's Lone to New Orleans, and all through the Carker hours of the rebellion of the past, to Savannah, Fort Sumter, Charleston, Columbia, Fort Fisher and Wilmington in the present, which has ever symbolized our unity and our national life, as we see inscribed upon it ineffacably that now doubly noble inscription, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." But in the hour of gladness I cannot forget

the obligations paramount and undying we owe to our heroic defenders on every battlefield upon the land and upon every waverocked monitor and frigate upon the sea. Inspired by the sublimest spirit of self-sacrifice they have realized a million fold the historic fable of Curtius, as they have offered to close up with their own bodies if need be the yawning chasm that imperilled the Republic. For you and me and for their country they have turned their backs on the delights of home and severed the tenderest of ties to brave death in a thousand firms, to confront, with unblanched cheeks, the tempest of shot and shell and flume, to storm frowning batteries and bristling entrenchments, to bleen, to suffer, and to die. As we look from this Capitol hill over the nation, there are crushed and broken hearts in every hamlet. There are weunded soldiers, mangled with Rebel bullets, in every hospital. In every churchyard there are patriot graves. There are bleaching bones on every battle field. It is the lofty and unfaltering heroism of the honored living and the even more honored dead that has taken us from every valley of disaster and deteat, and placed our feet on the sun-crowned heights of victory. The granite shaft may commemorate their deeds—our American "valhalla" may be crowned with the statues of our heroesbut the debt of gratitude to them can never be paid while time shall last and the history of a rescued nation shall endure. If my voice from this representative hall could be heard

throughout the land, I would adjure all who love the Republic to preserve this obligation ever fresh in their hearts. The brave who have fallen in these struggles to prevent an alien flag from waving over the ashes of Washington, or over the graves where sleep the great and patriotic rivals of the last generaion. The nero of New Orleans and the illusrious statesman of Kentucky cannot return to us. On Shiloh's plain and Carolina's sandy shore, before Richmond, and above the clouds at Lookout Mountain the patriot martyrs of constitutional liberty sleep in their bloody

shrouds till the morning of the resurrection But the living are left behind, and if the sacred record appropriately commends the poor, "who are ever with us," to our benefactions and regard, may I not remind you that the widow and the la herless, the maimed and the wounded, the diseased and the suffering, whose anguish springs from the great contest, have claims on all of us, heightened immeasurably by the sacred cause for which they have given so much. Thus and thus alone, by pouring the oil of consolation into the wounds that wicked treason has made, can we prove our devotion to our fatherland and our affectionate gratitude to its defenders. And rejoicing over the bow of promise, we already see arching the storm cloud of war, giving assurance that no deluge of Secession shall again overwhelm or endanger our nation, we can join with heart and soul, and sincerely and trustingly, in the poet's prayer:-

Now, Father, lay Thy healing hand in mercy on our stricken land; th! lead its wanderers to the fold, And be their Shepherd as of old—so shall our nation's song ascend To Thee, our Ruler, Father, Friend, While Heaven's wive arch resounds again with peace on earth, good with to men,

Now let us go hence from our labors here and into the Senate Chamber, and from the portico of the Capitol there, with the statue of

the Goddess of Liberty looking down for t first time upon such a scene, to witness a participate in the inauguration of the elect the American people. And now, thanki you most truly for your approbation of r official conduct, which you have recorded your Journal, I declare the House of Repi sentatives of the Thirty-eighth Congress the United States adjourned sine die.

The address was warmly applauded.



BRAHAM LINCOLN.



ANDREW JOHNSON.

heated discussion. That President Johnson's policy will not essentially differ from that which Mr. Lineolu had in view will appear from a brief statement concerning the case of Virginia.

As was originally stated in the Riehmond correspondence of the Advertiser, while Mr. Lincoln was in that city he was approached hy Judge Camphell and other members of that rehel elique, with requests that the rehel State Legislature of Virginia be pormitted to assemble at Richmond in order to deliberate upon the anestion of withdrawing the State from the confederacy and returning it to the Union. This Mr. Lincoln refused, in express terms, to allow. After he left Richmond. and hefore he returned to Washington, however, he ordered General Weitzel to allow "the persons who "call themselves the Virginia Legislature to convene "in Richmond for the sole purpose of withdrawing the "Virginia troops from the rebel army." The surrender of the whole army of General Lee induced Mr. Lincoln to recall this order, which he did on the afternoon of Sunday, April 9th, or very early on the morning of Monday, April 10th.

Immediately thereafter he requested the presence of Governor Pierpoint, the leyal Governor of Virginia, at Washington. The Governor reached that eity on the morning of Tuesday, the 11th. That afternoon a long Cabinet conference was held, at which andience was given to Governor Peirpoint. The question how "the proper practical relations" of Virgiuia to the Union could be restored, was taken up and discussed at length. The practical conclusion was reached that, so far at least as the Executive was concerned. Virginia was not then out of the Union; and that se far, again, as the Executive was concerned, the legitimate representatives of the State authority are Governor Peirpeint and the handful of gentlemen constituting the loyal Legislature. "In "remangurating the national antherity," Mr. Lincoln had said, "We must begin with, and mould from, "disorganized and discordant elements." Governor Peirpoint was a governor only in name, one might almost say; and the Legislature was as insignificant as the territory it actually governed. In fact, the leval State government was so grotesque that one could not help laughing at its assumptions. Yet Mr. Lincoln, iu carrying out his policy, wisely took up this caricature of government, and set it as the nuclous around which to mould "the disorganized and discordant ele-"ments" within the State.

This was the main thing done at that conference of the 11th. How further to proceed was an anxious question. I believe Mr. Lincoln laid his views on the direct issue before the Cabinet, and submitted the draft of an order upon the subject. Governor Pier point remained in the city and had an interview with Mr. Lincoln en Wednesday, and also one en the same day with Mr. Stanton. At the regular Cabinet meeting on Friday, the day of Mr. Lincoln's murder, General Grant was present, as was also a part of the time, I helieve, Governor Peirpoint. The meeting extended to an unusual length, and it was no less justly than touchingly said on the following Sunday hy one of the city divines, that Mr. Linceln was murdered in the interest of the rehellion ou the day of all others in his administration when his thoughts and his words were most full of charity and mcrey and fergiveness toward those engaged in the rebellion. At the meeting of this day Mr. Liuceln certainly brought forward many of the details of Lis proposed course in respect to Virginia, and also stated Mr. Seward's views in relation to it. The military interest being more involved, in the President's view, than the political interest, Secretary Stanton and General Grant were heard at length, and their opinions were given controlling weight on several points. The decision to remove General Shepley as Military Governor of Richmond had been reached some days previously, I know, as had that to substitute for him General Deut, the hrother-in-law of Goneral Grant. I think, but am not positive, that it had also been determined, previously, to remeve General Ord, create the Military Division of the James, and make General Halleck its commander. This determination was at least reached at this meeting, so far as the removal of General Ord and the creation of the new military division; and it was then also determined to remove all restrictions upon demestic trade, except as to articles contraband of war, in that part of the State held by our forces, and thus make a practical recognition of the fact that the rebellion had ended there. The issuance of the necessary orders to earry these details of pelicy into effect was suspended by the murder of Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. Jehnson took the cath of office as President on the 15th, and at once proceeded to carry out this policy. On the 19th, the order was issued removing General Ord and General Shepley, creating the new Military Division of the James, making General Halleck its commander, and assigning General Dent to duty as Military Governor of Richmond. On the 20th, General Halleck left for Richmond, and on the 24th he assumed command. Gevernor Pierpoint was either called to Washington or came of his own accord. At least he was there on the 19th and for a day or two thereafter. He had interviews with President Johnson and some members of the Cabinet, though I did not learn that he was present at any regular Cabinet meeting.

· On the 20th, there was in print an Executive order relating to the reestablishment of civil authority in Virginia. It was signed by President Johnson, but was, in all its essential points, agreed upon at the last Cahinet conference of Mr. Linceln, held on the day of his assassination. Whether this order was ever formally promulgated, er was only put in type for further consideration, I am unable to say. I helieve, however, that it had been adopted and regularly issued on the 21st. It directed each member of the Cabinet to recognize that, so far as Virginia was concorned, the rehellion was ended, and proceed at once to do what was required of his respective department to give practical force te this recognition. Among other things, it was directed that recommendations he made to the President of persons for appointment to such offices in the State as are in his centrol-from resident persons, I believe, if such as are fitted therefor cau he found within a certain specified time. Such suggestions as might properly come from the Executive were also made to Governor Pierpoint, with a view to assist him in his work.

On the 25th of April, General Halleck issued his General Orders No. Two, the first paragraph of which rea s as follows:-"All restrictions upon domestic "commerce and trade, except as to articles contra-"band of war, in the State of Virginia, as insurgent "territory, are, hy the authority of the President, rc-"voked in respect to all parts and counties of this "State, which have duly submitted to the authority "and are in the military possessien of the United "States." It will be observed that he says "by the "authority of the President." With the surrender of General Jee Johnston's army practically ends the military power of the rebellion east of the Mississippi River; and this is therefore appropriately followed, on the 29th, by the Executive order extending to the entire Seuthern territory east of the river the trade privileges already extended by General Halleck to Virginia.

This brief summary makes clear two points, viz.:—that President Johnsen will not allow any mere abstractions as to the status of the Southern States to stand in the way of rejuangurating therein the national authority; and that he is carrying out the main features of a policy roughly bleeked out, at least, by Mr. Lincoln before his death.

# BOSTON DAILY ADVEKTISER.

Dixon.

BOSTON:

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 4, 1865.



ANDREW JOHNSON
From a photograph taken in 1865, by
A. Gardner, Washington, D. C., and
published by Philip J. Solomons, Washington, D. C.

1000087

# THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY.

### MEETING IN COOPER INSTITUTE

### The Organization and Resolutions.

Speeches of Messrs, Seward, Dennison, Raymond and Others.

A mass-meeting in ratification of "the general principles announced by President Jebneen in his annual Message to Congress, and also in his recent Voto Message," was held last evening in the Cooper Institute. At 8 o'clock, when the preceedings commenced, not a feet of etanding reem could be obtnized in the large hall, while many were compelled to leave, anable to obtain ontrance to the building. The platform was profusely decerated with the National celers. Immodiately over the chair was the portrait of Andrew Johnson, with one of Grant on the right and of Sherman on the left haud. A bust of Washington was placed in front of the speukor's desk, and a lurge numter of banners adorned the ceiling, while a band of music enlivened the proceedings by performing, at Intervals, several National and other airs.

Before the erators of the evening came on the platform the audionce amused themselves by shouting and cheering for everything imaginable. About 71 e'cleck Mr. P. M. WETMORE appeared on the stage, and in compliment to a fow ladies who were present and appeared rather nneemfortable, said: "I have often noticed that at a large meeting where there are ledies present they like to have some music while they are waiting for the speakers."

A VOICE-Three cheers for the music. [Tremendous shouts.]

A long interval elapsed, but there was ne music. THE POLITICS OF THE MEETING.

Mr. WETMORE agein said: "I have been asked what are the politics of this meeting?" I call for three cheers for the Union. (The call was responded to.) Again the gentleman said: "I porceive all that music (of which, except the sound of a two-cent trumpet belonging to n mmall bey in the vicinity of the plutform, there wus not the faintest symptom) has been lost in the crowd. Have you got a good singer there ?"

An unmistakably Celtie voice exclaimed: "No," but we have get a 'fast-rate whistler.'" [Laughter and aheers.

The endience were becoming by this time, impatient at the delay, and there were loud shouts for the "Fuymians," "Field," "Opdyke," &c.

On the platform Messrs. Opdyke, Cornell, Judge Daly and ethers were sented.

At 8 o'clock Mr. GEORGE OPDIKE called the meeting so order. He snid: "As Chairman of the Committee Arrangements, allow me to express my gratification to see you in such lurge numbers to indorso the policy of our patriotic Chief Magistrate, Andrew Johnsona policy so just and wise as to embrece all the interests of our common country, end which it deserves of all men. I have the pleasure of nominating as the preaiding officer of this meeting, a citizen well known to you, alike distinguished for his morel worth and public apirit. I nominate the Hon. Francis B. Cutting as preding officer."

Mr. Curring then took the Chair amid very great applause.

Mr. WETMORE then read the following list of

Mr. Wetmone then read the following list of Yhom-Presidents-Hamilton Fish, William C. Bryant, A. Low, Janes Brown, Simeon Drainer, Henry Clewe, R. ini. Alack, Janes Brown, Simeon Drainer, Henry Clewe, R. ini. Platchford, Shepherd Knapp, Auron Vanderpoel, Marthall O. Roberts, Faul Spofford, Edwin Hoyt, J. F. D. Lauter, David Dows, Henry A. Smythe, H. Il. Vun Dyck, F. C. Palloon, Siewart Brown, Sanned Wetmore, William H. Fogg, Francis Skiddy, Charles F. Livernore, Janes G. on Bennett John D. Jones, Edwin D. Morgan, Alosea I. .. rinnell, S. B. Chittendon, Charles Augustus Davis, Socree Opayke, A. O. Kingeland, P. S. Wheston, R. D. (Pathrop, Horace B. Claffin, William H. Aspinvall, Isaac N. Khelps, Bunjanah R. Winthrop, Sannel Blatchford, George H. Werren, D. of Dudley Field, Daniel C. Kingstand, Paul S. Korhes, A. filiam E. Dodge, jr., Sheppard Gaudy, William K. Etrong, Ahraham M. Cozzens, Kearacy Warren, Jeonard W. Jerome, Wm. Allen Butler, James Munroe, James Kelly, Ezra Nye, Petig Hall, Wm. H. Neilson, Timothy G. Churchill, Elfingham Townsond, Joseph Stuart, John Ly. Kann, M. S. Fearing, Townsond Harris, Moses Dazarus, Joslah M. Fisk, Lawrence Jerome, John A. Hamilton, John Ct. Kun, M. S. Fearing, Townsond Harris, Moses Dazarus, Joslah M. Fisk, Lawrence Jerome, John A. Hamilton, John Ct. W. Barnham, S. Jaudon, Minthern Tompkins, Edward Marting, John T. Farish, Kesrney, Wirren, J. J. Townsond, M. Barnham, S. Jaudon, Minthern Tompkins, Edward Mannes Wadsworth, H. W. T. Mail, John T. Forest, Monry W. Huhkell, J. T. Mailey, Win, B. Bend, Henry

Borg, Chas. L. Authony, H. A. Johnson, Moses F. Odell, Arbor Leary, Daniel S. Dickenson, Jerrel Low, John Q. Jones, E. Caylus, Naloya Sulkiva, George Briggs, S. C. Evillians, Richard Schell, Thomas Murphy, Abreham Lent, John H. White, Win, Lainbeer, Jr., Win, Butler Dunenn, Elisha Rigge, J. W. Ceggill, Howard L. Farmiere, W. H. Hays, John A. Arker, Chas. Harriman, Ernstins C. Benedict, Thomas E. Bastin, James K. Place, Ethan Allon, R. T. Sherman, Win, M. Walton, Aedrew Carrigan, Jos. E. Varmuen, Robert Cutting, R. M. H. Levin, E. H. Lyman, Edward H. Coster, Robert, Echell, Josial Hedden, C. Winthrop, C. H. Lilienhal, J. Delemater, Charles L. Frost.

Scorrafices—Henry E. Davies, Jr., R. A. Balley, John M. Draper, William F. Jones.

These officers were duly elected.

SPECCH OF THE HON, F. B. CUTTING.

The Hon, Mr. CUTTING then came forward and said: Gentlewn And Fellow-citizens: I need not say that I feel greatly honored by being called, on this occasion, to preside over this great meeting, becanse it is a position that any ene who felt proud of the good opinion of his fellow-citizens would gladly have accepted. This great meeting, representing, as it does, a large proportion of the intelligence, they arite its destined, Lirust, to produce great fruits in the present distructed condition of our nublic commiss. I rise not for the purpose of

This greet meeting, representing, as it does, a large proportion of the intelligence, the partoits and the practical common sense of this community is destined, I trust, to produce great fruits in the present distructed condition of our public conneils. I rise not for the purpose of making a speech or extending my remarks, because home of the mo distinguished public men of this sountry, some of is not entirely personal inconvesionate from a very great distance to indures you, and add you by their advice in the present erisis of affairs, and some of those gentlemen, after the address which has been prepared shall have been read, and after the resolutions shell have been submitted to you."

[At this point the Hoa. W. H. Sewerd made his appearance on the platform. The andience rose on masse and cheered vocitierously. When the tunnit had in some measure subsided, Mr. Cutting said:

"You may well, fellow-citizens, welcome the distinguished gentleman who has snoot to the Gevernment with greater fidelity through all the bloody scenes through which it has passed tann he. (Applause.) Encemies of source has passed than he. (Applause.) Encemies of source has passed the weith need acres to held them. The resolutions which shall be submitted to you, in my mind, breather the true spirit of conciliation, of moderation, of fraternal love. After the termination of the war it was expected that we should have a Christian spirit, instead of witnessing such scenes in Congress [applanse] men undertaking to wrangle and to the otize antil they have beforged themselves and every-body around them; until they have ceased to mee dearly or to hear plainly the voice and sentiments of the American people. I say it in no spirit of menace, but I tell the unipority in Cengress that if they proceed to haggle and barguin for more and for better terms, instead of histening to make peace, and paore and for better terms, instead of hastening to make peace, they will be displaced by elmost the nautimous voice of this country. [Immense applaise.] Gentlemes, I om afraid I am beginning to make a speech, and therefore I will stop.

VOICES—"Ge on, go on."

M1. CUTTING—"No, I will stop, because it is a difficult thing when a horse gets under full way to stop him without damage." [Laughter and cheers.]

Mr. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD then presented the followlarg address and resolutions, merely remarking that he had been requested to prepare them, and elso to address the meeting; but that he had nothing new to say beyond what they contained:

what they contained:

ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF NEW-YORK.

It is the right and duty of the people at ell times to fiscuss the acts of their public servants, and especially when grave public questions are depending. The present is a time which demands such discussion, both because the questions now before the country are of great magnitude in themselves, and because different views prevail in the legislative and executive departments of the government. We hope these differences are not invecenciable; and in order to promote a final egreement, the people should interpose with an expression of their own epinfone. The issue of the war, glorious to our arms and more glorious for the freedom which it brought, leaves upon our hands the great task of pacification. This is the first question. Every other is substituted in the control of the condition o

did not fight for vengeance, but for "the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws. They now want n firm and lasting peace." But morally a generation did not fight for vengeance, but for "the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws. They now want in firm and lasting peace; not merely a cessation of named hostilities, but public transquility. They want and we want at the chunnels of business to be reopened and the whole people lett free to repair the wasto of war nud to regain their places, if they come as loyal citizens of one country, with one Constitution and one desting. The element of disturbance, and, as we think tho coly one, is the political condition of the freedmen—the late slaves whom we have cananoipated by the great Constitution and amendment. There is no substantial disagreement among loyal men respecting their civil rights of any other class of citizens—the rights of person and property, the right to sue and to the law. But whother they shall also have the suffrage is the dividing question. Those who insist that they should bave it do so chiefly on these grounds. Some of them say that the elective frunchise is a natural right; that every person has a just title to participate in the enactment of the laws by which he is governed. Others say that the blacks aided us in the suppression.

of the Rebellion, and therefore should be endowed with the privilege of participating in the government of the country which they helped to save. Others still maintain that the suffrage is the only safeguard of the colored race for the preservation of their freedom and civil rights. On the other hand, these propositions are denied and two ether considerations are put forward: First, that in respect to the States, whether those lately in rebellion of these decivity franchise, and second, that in respect to the bisrage of each purificular case—the observable eigenstances of the blacks are in an ignorant and debased condition, it wound be unwise and dangerous to admit them to the suffrage. These are the opposing theories; and it cannot be denied that the judement which men will form upon them depends much upon their theory of government. They who believe in the Deroceratic-Republican theory inherited from the fachers will guard with scruppilous fidelity the rights of the States as they were reserved by the Constitution. It will be remembered that the tenth amountment of that instrument declares that "the powers not herein delegated to this United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." There can be no question whatover that the powers not herein delegated to this United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." There can be no question whatover that the power states of the states, are reserved to the states are researched to the faches and the states are researc them a right to govern't, or to participate in its government. If it were otherwise, every brawe boy from sinteen to twenty-one who fonght in the Union roules, entere were thousands upon thousands of such, should have a vote instead of waiting for years to participate in the government to which he is subjected. The blinchs fought for a country, and they have the participate in the government to which he is subjected. The blinchs fought for a country, and they have obtained it. For, thanks be to God, the san of this glerious morning has not seen a single slave through all the unbroken land, from sea to sea. We would wolcome our canacipated brather to the rights of manbood. We would take him by the hand and bid him stand up and he of good cheer, for heuceforth no man call himself his master. But when we are esked to give all the men of his race, at the moment of their emmeipatien, the right to participate in the Government, we must answer, in the words of one of their own number more intelligent han many others, white or black—"The able-hodded only bear arms, the ahle-minded only should vote." To insist that the blacks will not be protected in their freedom and ell their rights, if they have not the elective tranchise, is to forget that by the second clause of the great amendment, it is provided, that "Congress shall have power to coferce this article by appropriate togislation." It is also to forget that the men and women of the South ere of like sentiments and instincts with ourselves, and something certainly may be expected from their regard to their interests and from their sense of justice. It is a curious fenture of the Frederal Government has if they were not able to take care of themselves, while the same persons who urged this the hardest are the most clamorous to give this same dependent population a large share in the government of the country. The exclusion of representatives in bach houses of Congress as a test of loyalty. The first theory is opposed to the opinion mulp practice of the whole North du

the exclusion of representatives from the elevententes which are now norepresented in Congress of loyal men who were fairly elected and cun take the enth, is a manifest usurpation. Fellow citizens, the maintenance of the Constitution—which is but another expression for the fidelity of the public servants to the trusts which they have swern to execute—is of mere value to the people of this country than the rise or full of any party, or the success or failure of any measure. In the present unbappy differences between Congress and the President, the latter, in obedience to his sense of constitutional duty, declines the vast patronege and power, civil und mintary, which the former weuld give him. We honer him for this. We believe the whole country will do as much. It knows that no man has suffered more, or struggled harder for his cenvictions. His loyalty to his contry and his devotion to all closses of its people are unquesticued, and while it dees not hecome freemen to promise heforchand concurrences in all the acts of any public servant, we express to Aaall the acts of any public servant, we express to Andrew Johnson our confidence in his integrity and his fidelity to the principles in reference to which he was elected, our hearty commendation of the general dectrines of his two messages, and our readiness to support him in all constitutional measures for the public welfare.

nim in an constitutional measures for the public welfare.
RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the citizens of New York, here assembled, layal to the Constitution and the Union, and faithful to the principles which have carried the country triumphantly through the war, are convinced of the necessity of an early and complete pacification of the country, that the people may all engage in their proper pursuits and resp the just rewards of their labors.

and complete pacification of the country, that the people may all eugage is their proper pursuits and resp the just rewards of their labors.

Resolved, That, therefore, we desire to see the restoration of practical and constitutional relations between all the States and the Federal Government at the earliest practicable period, and to that end we have the admission into Congress of all loyal representatives from the States lately in rebellion who were fairly elected and can take the oath prescribed by Congress as a test of answerving loyalty through all the pressure and peril of the Rebellion.

Resolved, That we approve the general principles announced by the President in his Annual Message and in his late nessage, explaining the reasons for withholding his assent to the bitl for the continuance and enlargement of the Freedmen's Bureau; and while we express this approval, we give him our confidence, and promise him our confidence and him our confidence, and promise him our confidence and him our confidence, and promise him our confidence

for them the full possession and enjoyment of all civil rights equally with any other inhabitants of the country, by which we mean all rights of person and properly, including those without which the others are useless—the right to sue and to testify, and complete equality before the law—and we think that Congress and the President are bound to use all the means which the Constitution has given them to secure that end.

that end. Resolved, That the Constitution is at once our charter and defense; no magistrate can go beyond it; no department of the Government, however powerful, legislative or executive, is permitted to transcend it; and however benevolent or otherwise meritorious a measure may be, if it be not within the powers granted by the Constitution it cannot be adopted, and we insist that every one of our public servants shall conform to the will of the whole people, as manifested in the great organic act, which is natocedent and superior to the Government itself.

The reading of the address and resolutious was repeatedly interrupted by disturbances among the audience. The Chairman called for order several times, and the orawi responded by calling for the police, when the Chairman retorted by telling them that a meeting such as that ought to be able to preserve order without the interference of the police. The reading of

meeting such as that ought to be able to preserve order without the interforence of the police. The reading of the address and resolutions was utlength finished, when the question of their adoption was put and carried. The Chairman thea introduced the floa. W. H. SEWARD, who came forward amid a storm of appliance, and commenced his speech. His voice was for the must part strong and firm, but at the close of nearly all his sentences his accents sunk so low us to be agarcely understood even within a low fact of the stage.

SPEECH OF THE HON, WM. H. SEWARD.
Fellow-citizons—I have been in the labit, as you per-

Fellow-citizens—I have been in the habit, as you perhaps know, of addressing—(Voices, "Louder! londer!") My voice has been broken, and I trust you will have eth city and act ask me to speak louder. The doctors could tell you why. I was saying, for the information of those who hear me—that can hoar me—that the heen my habit, for many years past, of indressing my fellow-citizens of the State of New-York on the eve of of those who cert me—that can host me—that it as heen my habit, for many years past, of addressing my fellow-critzeus of the State of New York on the eve of important elections, from my own home at Aburn. I have been heard, through the kindness of my follow-critzeus, from Montank Point to Chantauqua, and from Lake Champlain to the Ocean, when I only spoke even within the protection of my parfors or fire-side and home. I was here on the 18th of October last to speak to you then and I did spoak concerning the dangers of a collision between the Republican friends of the President of the United States have clevated to that high and responsible trust. I stated them what I thought would unswer for instruction and profit for a whole year, and you all ugreed then to give me a respite of one whole year, and that I abould come hack and speak to you on political topics in October, 1866, and now you have oalled me hack here again on the 22d of Fohruary. It is rather hard that a person shall be required to perform duty in the capital and at the same time that of a traveling lecturer er apeaker at home, especially from so large a State is this. But I have come back in obedience to your summons. I have come back in obedience to your summons. I have come back in obedience to the summons of my fe tow-citzeus of my native State without violating my nilegiance to the United States, [Cheers.] But although I have come back in obedience to this summons, I have not come back as an ultranist—I have no terrors to sound I have no dangers to warn you of, I have no

alarm to awaken or approhensions to excite about public affairs. There are no dangers, there are no perils, there is no occasion for ularm. The country has been saved (cheers)—saved, completely saved, thanks be to God I and it is not to be saved over again in this day and generation. The State is safe—the goodly saip has passed beyond the breakers, the billows and the tempest which beat apen ber daring five years, and sho is now successfully and promity riding into the part where she ought to be. There are, five years, and sho is now successfully and proudly riding into the port where she ougat to be. There are indeed, a few reels at the mouth of the harbor, and shill will be exercised by a wise, prudent and a careful erew, and she will meet with no sheek, no collision; but she will ride safely into her ancient mooring; whether she pass through this channel which they say is entirely suic, or whether, taking the advice of others, the members of Congress more especially, she lowers her sails and tacks round in order to take n longer sweep. The country is safe, I tell you, any how! [Cheers.] It is only a dispute hetween the pliets; for all are housest men—all well-meaning pilets. All that can er will inappen will be thus that she may rub the bottom or sides, and thut us she presses upon the sands she may rock and rell a fittle, and then some of the pilets—presenance it may he some Congressman or some Chainot Minister, perchance it may he some statesman—may unfortunate perchance it may no some senator or some President, perchance it may he some statesman—may unfortunately get washed overboard. I should be sorry for this to happen, but I san sure it is all that can happen, because the good ship is coming in without a leak fore or alt, and without a spar or a splinter starboard or lorshoard—she is coming in all safe and sound. [Cheers.] I should he very sorry if any of these pilots should be washed overboard; but if that can be prevented you and I will try and do the best we can to prevent it. Woll, then, it can be horne. And if I should happen to be one of those that are lost in that way, let no briend take any concern on that accenta. And now, fellow-citizens, baving ones relieved you of your anxieties, showing you I came here to talk no alars, I will proceed with the subject which you wish me to discuss. That subject is a difference of opinion between the President, who is one of the pilots who stand at the helm, and the assistants, who are summoned up from time to time to the witch at the forward perchance it muy he some statesman-may unfortunate stand at the neim, and the assistants, who are smooned up from time to time to the writch at the forward deck under the command of the quartermoster. It is a very considerable difference, and I, perhaps, cannot explain it to you any better than I shall do by reminding such of you, and I suppose there are many such, who have heen sometime in your lives in the habit of attending the thenter. All such may remember a play mig sien of you, and it suppose there are many such who have heen sometimo in your lives in the habit of attending the thenter. All such may remember a play which had senne popularity seme years ago. It was entitled, "The Nervons Man and the Man of Nerve! These two obstacters, the nervons man and the man of nerve, lived in different parts of the country. They were friends. They had heen friends in their youth, and their friendship iacressed with salvancing years. The nervous man had a son, a hopeful son, and the man of nervs had aleve shle daughter. These foud parents centracted a marringe hetween these purties, which should bring their two heuses, and, I suppose, their estates together, but without letting the candidates into the secree. In the men time these two amialle young persons, throngh some caprice of fortune, or of some other mere capricious god, happened to fall tugether at a watering-place, and knowing nothing of each other's previons history or relation, and nothing of the viows of their parents, they fell in love, as was most natural; and as was most natural. Each went home and reported to the parent. What was their surprise to find that the nervens man reinsed to allew his son te marry the lady of his cheece, who was a stranger to him, nnd announced that he had in view in narriage which was mest desirable, the other party to which he wend preduce, and with whom he was expected to fall in love at first sight. The man of nerve was equally mysteriona with the lady. And so inding they were to be married, as they supposed to strangers, they ooth run away and got married together. When the news of it came the nervona man was all en fire with disappointment, with passion and rage. He disavowed his son, he dislaberited him, he declared he married, as they supposed to strangers, they ooth run away and got married together. When the news of it came the nervous man was all en fire with disappointment, with passien and rage. He disavowed his son, he disinherited him, he declared he would never see him again; and the man of userve on the other hand protested that his daughter should be recovered, and she should still marry the man of his cheice. What was the surprise of the parents when the lovers having come from church and fell and begged the parents forgiveness and blessing, the parents discovered the son and daughter had each married the very early they had pledged them to marry beforehand. It was a success. The norvous man refused to give his consent, although the marriage was irrevocable, although it oame just as he wanted. But the man efnerve had more censideration. He said it would all come out right, and he extended his forgiveness. But the nervona man was still implaceble—could net be even soothed, much less propiriated. The man of nerve said, "Why, old frieud, why don't you forgive your son after having had it all your own way—for they get married your way as yen wanted them?" "Yes, I have had it all my own way; hat I won't fergive him for all that, d—n it," said he, "because I have not had my own way of having it!" [Laughter.] The President of the United States has got the Union restored, prosperons, safe and sound. He has got it restored with the loyal debt accepted by the Rebal States. He has got it restored with the layal debt accepted by the Rebal States. He has got it. The nervons men of the Senate and House of Representatives have got it restored with the layal debt accepted by the Rebal States. He has got it. The nervons men of the Senate and House of Representatives have got it restored evil the loss of the Rebal States. He has got it. The nervons men of the Senate and House of Representatives have got it restored evil the late of the way he wanted to have it. The nervons men of the Senate and House of Representatives have got it Slavery all ahrogated—everything all just as they wauted it, only they have not had their own way of having it! |Langhter.| The President ia a man who knows that that is about all a man in this tronhlesome world could expect. But the nervous man or the man world could expect. But the nervous man or the man of nerve would expect not only to have it just right, but to have it has own way of happening. But,

fellow-citizens. I have said that there is no danger or difficulty in our condition or circumstances; and I will new tell you the reason why. The States which were in the Rabellion have been aided in reorganizing themselves by Constitutions which are loyal, hy men who are loyal, and in sending to Congress leyal Representatives to resume their places in the seats which disloyal traitors in a fit of pusion and splcen and in violation of the Constitution and the Union abaudoned. Now I am sure this plan is geing to succeed. I are sure of it herease some plan must succeed and am sure of it because some plan must succeed, and

because this is the only plan which has ever been attempted or which I think ever will be attempted. Certninly it is the only one that can be attempted with success. It is nearly executed already. The States are there just as fully in the exercise of their State functions and powers and faculties as the State of New-York is at Albany to-day. Representatives can come up and lay their hands upon the Bible and tuke the onth, and remain there. Now, I think this is going to be done. It may not be deno to-day. I thought it ought to be done on the first day of this session of Congress:

Others thought it better to wuit and inquire—take a to be done on the first day of this session of Congress;
Others thought it better to wuit and inquire—take a recess. Then I thought it had better be done when the recess was thede. Others thought it better be postpoued to the lat of February. Now they are talking of postponing it till they can pass seme law. But for all that I know a State which is loyal, and continues to be level from this time beneeferward, and continues te he leval from this time henceferward, and is represented by leval representatives, is sure some day—in this Congress-or some other Congress—some time in the life of the Rspublic, will come in. That is all that remains to be done—and it is the same plan that Abraham Lincoln projected before he was removed from his high trust, the same one that Andrew Johnson was executing for him in Tennessee—it will be dene. Now, if I err in this my ladgment is incorrect. Then us the Union is to be restored some time, there is to be some plan which is practicable, and if there is some one, theu some one who is in favor of it can tell me what that plan is and when it is likely to he adopted. I passe for a reply. I have cover seen uny other plan proposed. I have seen this plan suggested ut two successive Congresses, that, notwithstanding the conditions of the States they should be legislated into the condition of Territorics, and should be overenod by the military arm till they bad performed sufficient acts of purpation, and should be brought in at some far-off period. If this is capable of being called a plan of restorution, then I think it has proved a total failure, because it requires a law to reduce the States allegade with governments in full congruint and the condition of medium proprient of the states and proprient the conditions of the proprient of the plan of restorution, then I think it has proved a total failure, because it requires a law to reduce the States pun of restoration, then I think it has proved a total failure, hecause it requires a law to reduce the States alroady with governments in full operation to the condition of territories. That cannot be done without an act of Congress. Every one knows it will require the assent of the President, and everybody knows who has read his message he is not going to knock down and tear to pieces the States which has hit his recombined. It takes ten emperors, with their combined read his messago he is net geing to kneck down and tear te pieces the States which he has britt ap with his swn hands. It takes ten emperors, with their combined ferces and statesmen not treadbled hy any Congresses, to effect the reduction of one State into the cendition of a province with a pro-Consul as its ruler. I think, therefore, that the plan is not practicable, and have given it up. I will show you. It is no longer montioned or proposed. The bill has met the sleen of death, and in its pince we find a joint resolution of the grow houses of Congress, passed on Thresday, isst—a joint resolution that the Slates will not be udmitted anyhow—that is to say, they never shall be readmitted until they have a law passed. Well, that is certainly giving up the iden of reducing them to tecritorics. They are content to let them stand out where they are and not let thom in at all. I think that the President's plan is certain to be adopted at last. I will give you some of the reasons why I think so. The history of the United States for uncety years shows that there never was a State that wanted to get out that ever was a State that wanted to get out that ever was a State ontside that was within the verge of the Union that dong testiff in somehow. We have had a Congress tust for a large portion of this period hus had a lancy for playing experiments at keeping States out of the Union that were out; hut it is only the present one that carries the chimers so far as to keep out a large for playing experiments at keeping States ont of the Union that were out; that it is only the present one that carries the chimera so far as to keep out States that are in. They hered it. There were tong that such at the constitution was adopted that refused to come in. Nine adopted the Constitution. Well, after years, all the other fonr, with wry face enough, came in, and made the Union thirteen instead of nine. Well, then, the Congress tried hard to keep out Michigaa, and they tried very hard to keep of Missonri out, and they went into an agony over Texas. That one diod, and we got perfectly beside ourselves in relation to California's coming in. We would not let her come in myllow. But here they all ure—Toxas, Missonri, California—all of them loyal, and all of them, except, Texas, perfectly dutiful. We have brought in new States, and not kept them as territories. Every province, every district at the cast side of the Mississippi River, rushed through a state of pupilage into the Federal Union as fast as tudy could get in. Every State west of the Mississippi—we hought provinces from Spain from France and from Mexico, including the whole territory. We wrangled whether they ahould come in as States and here they along tare oney. Toll your neighbors and friends that so far as to keeping States out of the Union when they are are now. Toll your neighbors and friends that so far as to keeping States out of the Union when they are arganized, that you cannot keep yourselves from getting States in without trying. If it were possible that we should get provinces north of the frontier or in Mexico they would be incontinently perfect, full, complete States. We cannot go further west without getting into the ocean, and therefore I do not extend in that direction. It is the necessity of the American people and antien, of the people of this continuat as

far as propinquity or neighborhood will allow, not to make other territories or provinces according to the roles of Washingtea, but States. A State does not like to have a depaty Government, and a State whon It has got to he a State likes to be a member of the Federul Union, hecause it wants the commercial, the social and other advantages and to share in the actional renewn, and therefore it is our destiny—it seems indeed as if the Lord Alanighty in his wisdom had hurled all these States, Mexican, French, Spauish white people, slaves, free, native born, aliens—hurled them into the Union spite of the will of the American people themselves, thus declaring and manifesting his will that we here in the continent of North America shall not he many nations, but one notion. [Cheers,] Fellow-citizens, I have thus far said nothing of the feelings of mornlity, of relicion and of patriotism. I do not propose to raise them here. I confess that the regulations of Scripture we not in these latter days accepted as an intallible them here. I confess that the regulations of Scripture are not in these latter days accepted as an infallible guide of faith—much less an infallible guide of practice, and thorefore I do not ask you whether we ought not, since the predigal has nhandoned his course and his views, and has returned and is on the way to meet the parent at the door. I do not ask you whether we ought not or whether we ought to kill the fattled calf, and invite this Rebel brother to the luxurinus entertainment; but I do say this, speaking as a matter of worldly peulteneo and not of Christian faith or doctrine, that when five years ago this predigal abandoned us, and attempted to pull the house down over our heads, we solemnly resolved we would pursue and hring back that produgal brother, and when he hud been brought hook and was repentant, that we would compel him to take his seat at his father's table. Now, what I say is, we have done just exactly that over our heads, we solemnly resolved we would pursue and hring back that prodigal brother, and when he had been brought hnok and was repentant, that we would compel him to take his seat at his father's table. Now, what I say is, wo have done just exactly that thing. We have reduced him; we have humiliated him; we have bronght him to point tence and contrition, and to sorrow and loyalty, and to beg for his piaco he rejected in his pride and folly—his seat at the family mausion. There sro no more controversies about elavery. There was no cause of embarrassmeat hut slavery. That you have given to the dogs, and that made a finish of it. They have not left a unir nf its skin, or a disjointed bone, or a fragment to cumber the ground, or sharpen the cupidity of those sinners called slaveholders, or to awaken the hopes of that mistaken chose of weeping these States out of the Union. They are all free States well you may say that, infer all, a destiny that seems so fixed as this—such an irresistible proclivity of States to come together—show and impossibility to keep the ont. I tell you, my good frieuds, we made acticed what this coantry has done for a period of 90 years. It has Slavery them not only in the Robel States, but partiall in every State. I saw the people abolith it, State afte State, and proceed to educate and elevate the emano pated freedmen, until Slavery, finding that its time was coming, organized itself into a Rebellion and then I saw them take it nud tenr i in pieces and cast down. This has heen done by the American people in 90 years. Uhele Sam's position has been done by oncreaves in this generation. Well, don't your give yourselves in this generation. Well, don't your sago, and they have given proef of it; and sfier the next hundred years they will he a hundred fold wiser than we in the generations that is crowding as off the stage, will he as much wiser as we are than those who went hefore as. When I see this, I nak, how all this has been done. Has the United States of America, from one end of the

you or your children may hope to read the Doclaration of Independence as a fact that all men are free and equal. [Cheers.]

or interest of the state of the state of the exequal. (Cheers.]

I have refrained, thus fur, from sponking of the exciting subject—a callision between and difference of opinion hetween the President of the United States and Congress about the Freedmen's Bureau bill. I will say upon that subject that duly considered and alone it in not a matter of sufficient moment to excite the ottention which it has received or the interest which has been converged upon it. Beth the Congress of the United States and the President know that we are in a transition state from war to peace, that we have many freedmen and refugees—that they are destitute and suffering, and that it is the duty of a just people in its trimuph to protect all these when were the victims in the attniament of its success. Both Congress and the President have agreed to provide by law for the in the attnament of its success. Both Congress and the President have agreed to provide by law for the protection of refugees and freedmen daring the war, and one year thereafter. Both Congress and the President agreed that when we had passed from a state of war to a state of pence, that the maintainence of the War to a state of pence, that the maintained of the freedmon's Barcon would be unnecessary, unwise, unconstitutional and, therefore, neither Congress nor the President desire that that shall be the case. There is in them this difference of opinion between the constitutional and, therefore, neither Congress nor the President desire that that shall be the case. There is in them this difference of opinion between the two: The President looks to the admission of the States into the Union according to their organization, said that their transition state has nearly passed. The Congress is numiling that they shall come in, and seeking to nostpone thinks that the transition period is to be pietracted, therefore Congress thought it was wise to have the new bill contaming the Freedmen's bareau bill indefinite as the President says at least until Congress shall repeal it. The President thinks it is unnocessary. Now if you will refer to the old bill creating the Freedmen's Bareau, you will find it is limited by the laws of canctment to the war of the Rebellion and one year thereafter. Is the war ended the Practically it is. Hostilities have crased. Is peace restored? No; practically the States are still disturbed and there is a necessity for military force. The peace has not absolutely come. Coming, but not come, the Presideat says. The proclamation of the President will amounce that the war is at an end. Now, if I am right in this, thou peace in a logal sense will come to be in the United States just at the day when the President issues a proclamation, or Congress passes a haw declaring that peace has come, and not heloro. If the proclamation should be made to-day, then by the terms of the act creating a Freedmen's Bureau, we will have one wholeyear thereafter. At the ond of that time the President says we shall have the benefit of experience. If we need the continuation of the Freedmen's Bureau, Congress will then he in session to cauca abill, and if as woull trust we shall have from them the 22d of February will be a very good day, the most glorious of all days, for a preclamation that the Rehellion is ended that the freedmen's Burean, Congress will then be in session to cauca ability. Well, this being the case what is the course of daty? What is the difference between the P dut't waat any nore agents. Congress comes along, and says, "Mr. President, you are ontirely mistaken, you want more men, you want more men, you want more men, you want more men, you want more areals, you want 10,000 ngents, \$25,000,000. It is folly to quarrel with the President of the United States ia the honse of his friends. Why, fellow-citizens, the powers offered to the President might tempt a Maximilian a Louis Napoleon Pardon no friends tow ore investigated. Pardon me, friends, they are insafficient to benefit Audrew Johnson. [Cheers] I really on not believe there is one man in the United States that would take there is one maa in the United States that would take the position if required to take it with such powers and privileges; and if there is, I know he is the only one, and therefore it is safe. There is no other country on the world where the experiment might not have been tried with more success. When the time shall come that there shall be in the White House a President of the United States who hesides 50,000 men which he does need, will take 50,000 more that he does not need, and in addition to \$11,000,000 will receive \$25,000,000 more from a deficient Congruss, then I tell you that the time will have arrived for the rolling of an Imperial throne into the White House and surrounding it with Imperial gaards. [Applause.]

SPECH OF GOV DENISON OF OHIO.

Postmaster-General Denison was then introduced.

SPEECH OF GOV DENISON OF OHIO.

Postmaster-General Denison was then introduced, and made a short speech, recapitulating the arguments used by the President in his veto message, which, he said, was advised supported and by overy member of

SPEECH OF HENRY J. RAYMOND.

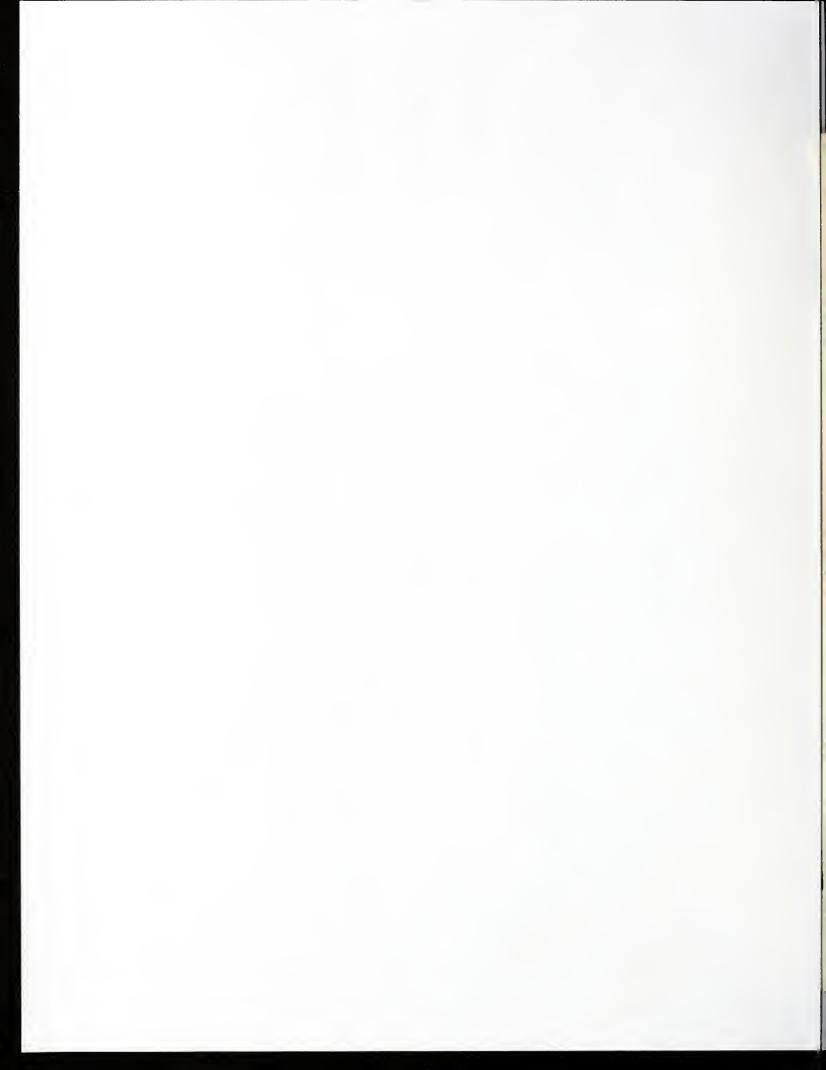
In answer to loud oalls the Chairman theu introduced the Hon. HENRY J. RAYMOND who spoke at length, lamenting the extraordinary powers conferred on the Reconstruction Committee, and saying that on Monday last he knew that a majority of the Rouse were in favor of the admission of the Tennessee delegates; but in consequence of the malice engendered by the President's veto, they had since refused to admit any of the Southern delegates. [Applause].

OTHER PROCEEDINGS.

A resolution forwing the efficiency of the meeting into a

A resolution forming the officers of the meeting into a permanent organization to hold meetings for the same object, was adopted. A Committee was also appointed to go to Washington and lay the proceedings of the evening hefore the President.

The meeting then adjourned.



### OFFICIAL CONDUCT OF THE PRESIDENT.

FEBRUARY 28, 1867.—Laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

Mr. J. F. Wilson, from the Committee on the Judiciary, made the following

### REPORT.

The Committee on the Judiciary, charged by the House with the examination of certain allegations of high crimes and misdemeanors against the President of the United States, submit the following report:

On the seventh day of January, 1867, the House, on motion of Hon. James M. Ashley, a representative from the State of Ohio, adopted the following preamble and resolution, to wit:

"I do impeach Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and acting President of the

United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors.

39TH CONGRESS, )

2d Session.

"I charge him with a usurpation of power and violation of law; in that he has corruptly used the appointing power; in that he has corruptly used the pardoning power; in that he has corruptly used the veto power; in that he has corruptly disposed of the public property of the United States; in that he has corruptly interfered in elections, and committed acts, and conspired with others to commit acts, which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors.

"Therefore, be it resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be, and they are hereby, authorized to inquire into the official conduct of Andrew Johnson, Vice-President of the United States, discharging the powers and duties of the office of President of the United States, and to report to this house whether, in their opinion, the said Andrew Johnson, while in said office, has been guilty of acts which were designed or calculated to overthrow, subvert, or corrupt the government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof; and whether the said Andrew Johnson has been guilty of any act, or has conspired with others to do acts, which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes or misdemeanors, requiring the interposition of the constitutional power of this house; and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers and to administer the customary oath to witnesses."

The duty imposed on the committee, by this action of the House, was of the highest and gravest character. No committee during the entire history of the government had ever been charged with a more important trust. The responsibility which it imposed was of oppressive weight, and of most unpleasant nature. Gladly would the committee have escaped from the arduous labors imposed on it by the resolution of the House; but, once imposed, prompt, deliberate, and faithful action, with a view to correct results, became its duty, and to

this end it has directed its efforts.

Soon after the adoption of the resolution by the House, the Hon. James M. Ashley communicated to the committee, in support of his charges against the President of the United States, such facts as were in his possession, and the investigation was proceeded with, and has been continued almost without a day's interruption. A large number of witnesses has been examined, many documents collected, and everything done which could be done to reach a conclusion of the case. But the investigation covers a broad field, embraces many novel and interesting and important questions, and involves a multitude of facts; while most of the witnesses are distant from the capital; owing to which, the committee, in view of the magnitude of the interests involved in its action, has not been able to conclude its labors, and is not, therefore, prepared to submit a definite and final report.

If the investigation had even approached completeness, the committee would not feel authorized to present the result to the House at this late period of the session, unless the charges had been so entirely negatived as to admit of no discussion, which, in the opinion of the committee, is not the case. Certainly, no affirmative report could be properly considered in the expiring hours of this

The committee not having fully investigated all the charges preferred against the President of the United States, it is deemed inexpedient to submit any conclusion, beyond the statement that sufficient testimony has been brought to its notice to justify and demand a further prosecution of the investigation.

The testimony which the committee has taken will pass into the custody of the Clerk of the House, and can go into the hands of such committee as may be charged with the duty of bringing this investigation to a close, so that the labor expended upon it may not have been in vain.

The committee regrets its inability definitely to dispose of the important subject committed to its charge, and presents this report for its own justification, and for the additional purpose of notifying the succeeding Congress of the incompleteness of its labors, and that they should be completed.

JAMES F. WILSON, Chairman.
G. S. BOUTWELL.
THOS. WILLIAMS,
BURTON C. COOK.
WM. LAWRENCE.
FRANCIS THOMAS.
D. MORRIS.
F. E. WOODBRIDGE.

### MINORITY REPORT.

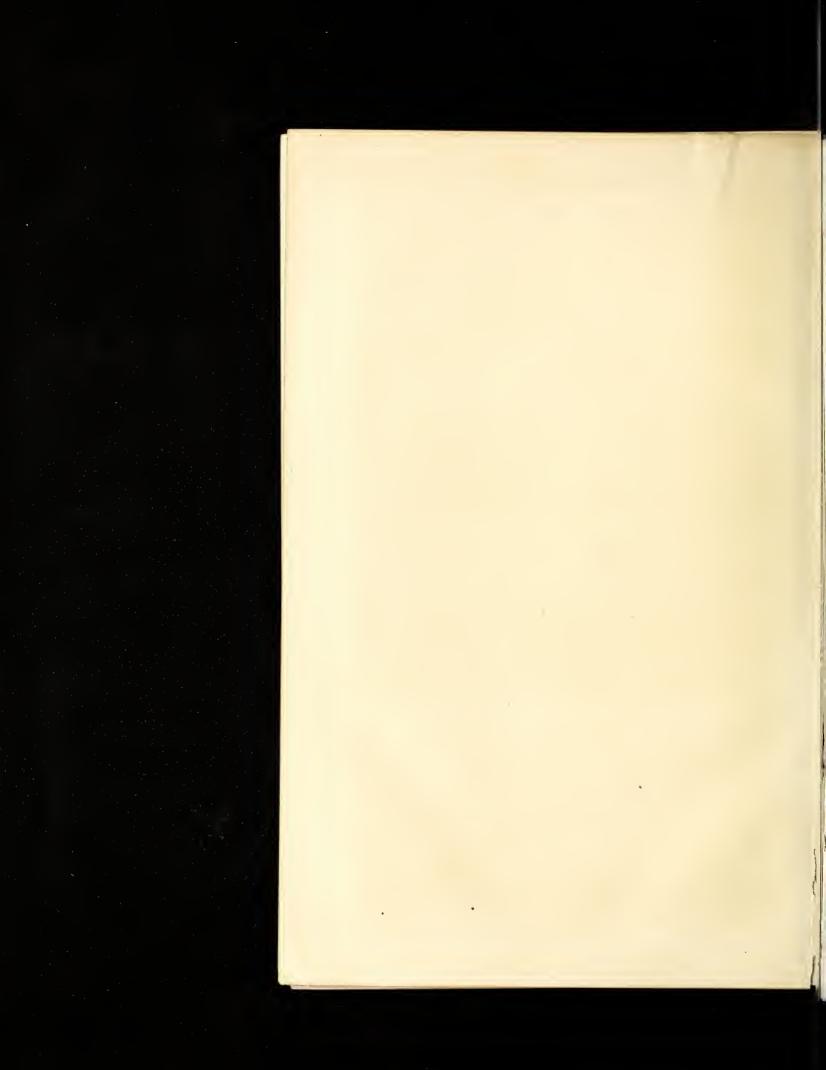
Mr. Rogers, the minority of the committee, submits the following as his

The subscriber, one of the Judiciary Committee, to whom was referred by the House the inquiry to inquire into the official conduct of his Excellency the President of the United States, with a view to his impeachment upon certain charges made by the Hon. James M. Ashley, begs leave to submit the following

report:

The committee refuse to allow a report to be made giving the evidence to the House at this time, upon grounds which are no doubt satisfactory to themselves. Therefore, I cannot report the evidence upon which my conclusion is based, which I would gladly do, did the committee deem it expedient. The examination of witnesses and the records was commenced, as appears by the majority report, about the time of the reference, to wit, on the 7th of January, 1867, and continued daily. A large number of witnesses has been examined, and everything done that could be to bring the case to a close, as appears by the majority report; and the majority came to the conclusion "that sufficient testimony has been brought to its notice to justify and demand a further prosecution of the investigation." I have carefully examined all the evidence in the case, and do report that there is not one particle of evidence to sustain any of the charges which the House charged the committee to investigate, and that the case is wholly without a particle of evidence upon which an impeachment could be founded, and that with all the effort that has been made, and the mass of evidence that has been taken, the case is entirely bald of proof. I furthermore report that the most of the testimony that has been taken is of a secondary character, and such as would not be admitted in a court of justice. In view of this conclusion, I can see no good in a continuation of the investigation. I am convinced that all the proof that can be produced has been before the committee, as no pains have been spared to give the case a full investigation. Why, then, keep the country in a feverish state of excitement upon this question any longer, as it is sure to end, in my opinion, in a complete vindication of the President, if justice be done him by the committee, of which I have no doubt.

A. J. ROGERS.



### CORRESPONDENCE—GRANT AND THE PRESIDENT.

### LETTER

FROM

# THE SECRETARY OF WAR,

IN ANSWER TO

A resolution of the House, transmitting correspondence between the President and General Grant, relative to the Secretary of War.

FEBRUARY 4, 1868.—Referred to the Committee on Reconstruction and ordered to be printed.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington City, February 4, 1868.

SIR: In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 3d instant, I transmit herewith copies furnished me by General Grant of correspondence between him and the President, relating to the Secretary of War, and which he reports to be all the correspondence he has had with the President on the subject.

I have had no correspondence with the President since the 12th of August last. After the action of the Senate on his alleged reason for my suspension from the office of Secretary of War, I resumed the duties of that office as required by the act of Congress, and have continued to discharge them without any personal or written communication with the President. No orders have been issued from this department in the name of the President, with my knowledge, and I have received no orders from him.

The correspondence sent herewith embraces all the correspondence known to me on the subject referred to in the resolution of the House of Representatives.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant, EDWIN M. STANTON,

Secretary of War.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

No. 1.—General Grant to the President.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, Washington, January 24, 1868.

Sir: I have the honor, very respectfully, to request to have, in writing, the order which the President gave me verbally on Sunday, the 19th instant to

disregard the orders of the Hon. E. M. Stanton, as Secretary of War, until I knew, from the President himself, that they were his orders.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, U. S. GRANT, General.

His Excellency A. Johnson, President of the United States.

No. 2.—General Grant to the President.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, Washington, D. C., January 28, 1868.

Sir: On the 24th instant, I requested you to give me in writing the instructions which you had previously given me verbally, not to obey any order from Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War. unless I knew that it came from yourself. To this written request I received a message that has left doubt in my mind of your intentions. To prevent any possible misunderstanding, therefore, I renew the request that you will give me written instructions, and, till they are received, will suspend action on your verbal ones.

I am compelled to ask these instructions in writing, in consequence of the many and gross misrepresentations, affecting my personal honor, circulated through the press for the last fortnight, purporting to come from the President, of conversations which occurred either with the President privately in his office, or in cabinet meeting. What is written admits of no misunderstanding.

In view of the misrepresentations referred to, it will be well to state the facts in the case.

Some time after I assumed the duties of Secretary of War ad interim, the President asked me my views as to the course Mr. Stanton would have to pursue, in case the Senate should not concur in his suspension, to obtain possession of his office. My reply was, in substance, that Mr. Stanton would have to appeal to the courts to reinstate him, illustrating my position by citing the ground I had taken in the case of the Baltimore police commissioners.

In that case I did not doubt the technical right of Governor Swann to remove the old commissioners and to appoint their successors. As the old commissioners refused to give up, however, I contended that no resource was left but to appeal to the courts.

Finding that the President was desirous of keeping Mr. Stanton out of office, whether sustained in the suspension or not, I stated that I had not looked particularly into the tenure of office bill, but that what I had stated was a general principle, and if I should change my mind in this particular case I would inform him of the fact.

Subsequently, on reading the tenure of office bill closely, I found that I could not, without violation of the law, refuse to vacate the office of Secretary of War the moment Mr. Stanton was reinstated by the Scnate, even though the President should order me to retain it, which he never did.

Taking this view of the subject, and learning on Saturday, the 11th instant, that the Senate had taken up the subject of Mr. Stanton's suspension, after some conversation with Lieutenant General Sherman and some members of my staff, in which I stated that the law left me no discretion as to my action, should Mr. Stanton be reinstated, and that I intended to inform the President, I went to the President for the sole purpose of making this decision known, and did so make it known.

In doing this I fulfilled the promise made in our last preceding conversation on the subject.

The President, however, instead of accepting my view of the requirements of

the tenure of office bill, contended that he had suspended Mr. Stanton under the authority given by the Constitution, and that the same authority did not preclude him from reporting, as an act of courtesy, his reasons for the suspension to the Senate. That, having appointed me under the authority given by the Constitution, and not under any act of Congress, I could not be governed by the act. I stated that the law was binding on me, constitutional or not, until set aside by the proper tribunal. An hour or more was consumed, each reiterating his views on this subject, until, getting late, the President said he would see me again.

I did not agree to eall again on Monday, nor at any other definite time, nor

was I sent for by the President until the following Tuesday.

From the 11th to the eabinet meeting on the 14th instant, a doubt never entered my mind about the President's fully understanding my position, namely, that if the Senate refused to eoneur in the suspension of Mr. Stanton, my powers as Secretary of War ad interim would eease, and Mr. Stanton's right to resume at once the functions of his office would under the law be indisputable, and I acted accordingly. With Mr. Stanton I had no communication, direct nor indirect, on the subject of his reinstatement, during his suspension.

I knew it had been recommended to the President to send in the name of Governor Cox, of Ohio, for Secretary of War, and thus save all embarrassment—a proposition that I sincerely hoped he would entertain favorably; General Sherman seeing the President at my particular request to urge this, on the 13th

instant.

On Tuesday, (the day Mr. Stanton re-entered the office of the Secretary of War,) General Comstock, who had earried my official letter announcing that, with Mr. Stanton's reinstatement by the Senate, I had eeased to be Secretary of War ad interim, and who saw the President open and read the communication, brought back to me from the President a message that he wanted to see me that day at the eabinet meeting, after I had made known the fact that I was no

longer Secretary of War ad interim.

At this meeting, after opening it as though I were a member of the eabinet, when reminded of the notification already given him that I was no longer Secretary of War ad interim, the President gave a version of the conversations alluded to already. In this statement it was asserted that in both conversations I had agreed to hold on to the office of Secretary of War until displaced by the courts, or resign, so as to place the President where he would have been had I never accepted the office. After hearing the President through, I stated our conversations substantially as given in this letter. I will add that my conversation before the cabinet embraced other matter not pertinent here, and is therefore left out.

I in nowise admitted the correctness of the President's statement of our conversations, though, to soften the evident contradiction my statement gave, I said (alluding to our first conversation on the subject) the President might have understood me the way he said, namely, that I had promised to resign if I did not resist the reinstatement. I made no such promise.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, General.

His Excellency A. Johnson,

President of the United States.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, January 30, 1868.

Respectfully forwarded to the Secretary of War for his information. U. S. GRANT, Genera No. 3.—Indorsement of the President on General Grant's note of January 24, 1868.

JANUARY 29, 1868.

As requested in this communication, General Grant is instructed, in writing not to obey any order from the War Department, assumed to be issued by the direction of the President, unless such order is known by the General commanding the armies of the United States to have been authorized by the Executive.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

### No. 4.—General Grant to the President.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, Washington, January 30, 1868.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the return of my note of the 24th instant, with your indorsement thereon, that I am not to obey any order from the War Department assumed to be issued by the direction of the President, unless such order is known by me to have been authorized by the Executive; and in reply thereto to say, that I am informed by the Secretary of War that he has not received from the Executive any order or instructions limiting or impairing his authority to issue orders to the army as has heretofore been his practice under the law and the customs of the department. While this authority to the War Department is not countermanded, it will be satisfactory evidence to me that any orders issued from the War Department, by direction of the President, are authorized by the Executive.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, U. S. GRANT, General.

His Excellency A. Johnson,

President of the United States.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Official copy:

GEORGE K. LEET,

Assistant Adjutant General.

Headquarters Army United States, January 30, 1868.

Respectfully forwarded to the Secretary of War for his information.

U. S. GRANT, General.

No. 5.—The President to General Grant.

Executive Mansion, January 31, 1868.

GENERAL: I have received your communication of the 28th instant, renewing your request of the 24th, that I should repeat in a written form my verbal instructions of the 19th instant, viz: That you obey no order from the Honorable Edwin M. Stanton, as Secretary of War, unless you have information that it was issued by the President's directions.

In submitting this request, (with which I complied on the 29th instant,) you take occasion to allude to recent publications in reference to the circumstances connected with the vacation, by yourself, of the office of Secretary of war ad interim, and, with the view of correcting statements, which you term "gross misrepresentations," give at length your own recollection of the facts under which, without the sanction of the President, from whom you had received and accepted the appointment, you yielded the Department of War to the present incumbent.

As stated in your communication, some time after you had assumed the duties of Secretary of War ad interim, we interchanged views respecting the course that should be pursued in the event of non-concurrence by the Senate in the suspension from office of Mr. Stanton. I sought that interview, calling myself at the War Department. My sole object in then bringing the subject to your attention was to ascertain definitely what would be your own action should such an attempt be made for his restoration to the War Department. That object was accomplished, for the interview terminated with the distinct understanding that if, upon reflection, you should prefer not to become a party to the controversy, or should conclude that it would be your duty to surrender the department to Mr. Stanton, upon action in his favor by the Senate, you were to return the office to me prior to a decision by the Senate, in order that, if I desired to do so, I might designate some one to succeed you. It must have been apparent to you that, had not this understanding been reached, it was my purpose to relieve you from the further discharge of the duties of Secretary of War ad interim, and to appoint some other

person in that capacity.

Other conversations upon this subject ensued, all of them having, on my part, the same object, and leading to the same conclusion, as the first. It is not necessary, however, to refer to any of them excepting that of Saturday, the 11th instant, mentioned in your communication. As it was then known that the Senate had proceeded to consider the case of Mr. Stanton, I was anxious to learn your determination. After a protracted interview, during which the provisions of the tenure of office bill were freely discussed, you said that, as had been agreed upon in our first conference, you would either return the office to my possession in time to enable me to appoint a successor before final action by the Senate upon Mr. Stanton's suspension, or would remain as its head, awaiting a decision of the question by judicial proceedings. It was then understood that there would be a further conference on Monday, by which time I supposed you would be prepared to inform me of your final decision. You failed, however, to fulfil the engagement, and on Tucsday notified me, in writing, of the receipt by you of official notification of the action of the Senate in the case of Mr. Stanton, and at the same time informed me that according to the act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices your functions as Secretary of War ad interim ceased from the moment of the receipt of the notice. You thus, in disregard of the understanding between us, vacated the office without having given me notice of your intention to do so. It is but just, however, to say that in your communication you claim that you did inform me of your purpose, and thus "fulfilled the promise made in our last preceding conversation on this subject." The fact that such a promise existed is evidence of an arrangement of the kind I have mentioned. You had found in our first conference "that the President was desirous of keeping Mr. Stanton out of office, whether sustained in the suspension or not." You knew what reasons had induced the President to ask from you a promise; you also knew that in case your views of duty did not accord with his own convictions, it was his purpose to fill your place by another appointment. Even ignoring the existence of a positive understanding between us, these conclusions were plainly deducible from our various conversations. It is certain, however, that even under these circumstances you did not offer to return the place to my possession, but, according to your own statement, placed yourself in a position where, could I have anticipated your action, I would have been compelled to ask of you, as I was compelled to ask of your predecessor in the War Department, a letter of resignation, or else to resort to the more disagreeable expedient of suspending you by a successor.

As stated in your letter, the nomination of Governor Cox, of Ohio, for the office of Secretary of War was suggested to me. His appointment, as Mr. Stanton's successor, was urged in your name, and it was said that his selection would save further embarrassment. I did not think that in the selection of a

cabinet officer I should be trammelled by such considerations. I was prepared to take the responsibility of deciding the question in accordance with my ideas of constitutional duty, and, having determined upon a course which I deemed right and proper, was anxious to learn the steps you would take should the possession of the War Department be demanded by Mr. Stanton. Had your action been in conformity to the understanding between us, I do not believe that the embarrassment would have attained its present proportions, or that the

probability of its repetition would have been so great.

I know that, with a view to an early termination of a state of affairs so detrimental to the public interests, you voluntarily offered, both on Wednesday, the 15th instant, and on the succeeding Sunday, to call upon Mr. Stanton, and urge upon him that the good of the service required his resignation. I confess that I considered your proposal as a sort of reparation for the failure, on your part, to act in accordance with an understanding more than once repeated, which I thought had received your full assent, and under which you could have returned to me the office which I had conferred upon you, thus saving yourself from embarrassment, and leaving the responsibility where it properly belonged—with the President, who is accountable for the faithful execution of the laws.

I have not yet been informed by you whether, as twice proposed by your-self, you have called upon Mr. Stauton, and made an effort to induce him vol-

untarily to retire from the War Department.

You conclude your communication with a reference to our conversation at the meeting of the cabinet held on Tuesday, the 14th instant. In your account of what then occurred, you say that after the President had given his version of our previous conversations, you stated them substantially as given in your letter; that you in no wise admitted the correctness of his statement of them, "though, to soften the evident contradiction my statement gave, I said (alluding to our first conversation on the subject) the President might have understood in the way he said, namely: that I had promised to resign if I did not resist the reinstatement. I made no such promise."

My recollection of what then transpired is diametrically the reverse of your

narration. In the presence of the cabinet I asked you:

First. If, in a conversation which took place shortly after your appointment as Secretary of War ad interim, you did not agree either to remain at the head of the War Department and abide any judicial proceedings that might follow non-concurrence by the Senate in Mr. Stanton's suspension; or, should you wish not to become involved in such a controversy, to put me in the same position with respect to the office as I occupied previous to your appointment, by returning it to me in time to anticipate such action by the Senate. This you admitted.

Second. I then asked you if, at our conference on the preceding Saturday, I had not, to avoid misunderstanding, requested you to state what you intended to do, and further, if, in reply to that inquiry, you had not referred to our former conversations, saying that from them I understood your position, and that your action would be consistent with the understanding which had been reached.

To these questions you also replied in the affirmative.

Third. I next asked if, at the conclusion of our interview on Saturday it was not understood that we were to have another conference on Monday, before final action by the Senate in the case of Mr. Stanton. You replied that such was the understanding, but that you did not suppose the Senate would act so soon; that on Monday you had been engaged in a conference with General Sherman, and were occupied with "many little matters," and asked if General Sherman had not called on that day. What relevancy General Sherman's visit to me on Monday had with the purpose for which you were then to have called, I am at a loss to perceive, as he certainly did not inform me whether you had determined to retain possession of the office, or to afford me an opportunity to appoint a successor in advance of any attempted reinstatement of Mr. Stanton. This account of what passed between us at the cabinet meeting on the 14th

instant widely differs from that contained in your communication, for it shows that instead of having "stated our conversations as given in the letter," which has made this reply necessary, you admitted that my recital of them was entirely accurate. Sincerely anxious, however, to be correct in my statements, I have to-day read this narration of what occurred on the 14th instant to the members of the cabinet who were then present. They, without exception, agree in its accuracy.

It is only necessary to add that on Wednesday morning, the 15th instant, you called on me, in company with Lieutenant General Sherman. After some preliminary conversation, you remarked that an article in the National Intelligencer of that date did you much injustice. I replied that I had not read the Intelligencer of that morning. You then first told me that it was your intention

to urge Mr. Stanton to resign his office.

After you had withdrawn, I carefully read the article of which you had spoken, and found that its statements of the understanding between us were substantially correct. On the 17th, I caused it to be read to four of the five members of the cabinet who were present at our conference on the 14th, and they concurred in the general accuracy of its statements respecting our conversation upon that occasion.

In reply to your communication, I have deemed it proper, in order to prevent

further misunderstanding, to make this simple recital of facts.

Very respectfully, yours,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

General U. S. Grant, Commanding U. S. Armies.

### No. 6 - General Grant to the President.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,

Washington, D. C., February 3, 1868.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 31st ultimo, in answer to mine of the 28th ultimo. After a careful reading and comparison of it with the article in the National Intelligencer of the 15th ultimo, and the article over the initials J. B. S., in the New York World of the 27th ultimo, purporting to be based upon your statement and that of the members of your cabinet therein named, I find it to be but a reiteration, only somewhat more in detail, of the "many and gross misrepresentations" contained in these articles, and which my statement of the facts set forth in my letter of the 28th ultimo was intended to correct; and I here reassert the correctness of my statements in that letter, anything in yours in reply to it to the contrary notwithstanding.

I confess my surprise that the cabinet officers referred to should so greatly misapprehend the facts in the matter of admissions alleged to have been made by me at the cabinet meeting of the 14th ultimo as to suffer their names to be made the basis of the charges in the uewspaper article referred to, or agree in the accuracy, as you affirm they do, of your account of what occurred at that meeting.

You know that we parted on Saturday, the 11th ultimo, without any promise on my part, either express or implied, to the effect that I would hold on to the office of Secretary of War ad interim against the action of the Senate, or, declining to do so myself, would surrender it to you before such action was had, or that I would see you again at any fixed time on the subject.

The performance of the promises alleged by you to have been made by me would have involved a resistance to law, and an inconsistency with the whole

history of my connection with the suspension of Mr. Stanton.

From our conversations, and my written protest of August 1, 1867, against the removal of Mr. Stanton, you must have known that my greatest objection to his removal or suspension was the fear that some one would be appointed in his stead who would, by opposition to the laws relating to the restoration of the southern States to their proper relations to the government, embarrass the army in the performance of duties especially imposed upon it by these laws; and it was to prevent such an appointment that I accepted the office of Secretary of War ad interim, and not for the purpose of enabling you to get rid of Mr. Stanton by my withholding it from him in opposition to law, or not doing so myself, surrendering it to one who would, as the statement and assumptions in your communication plainly indicate was sought. And it was to avoid this same danger, as well as to relieve you from the personal embarrassment in which Mr. Stanton's reinstatement would place you, that I urged the appointment of Governor Cox, believing that it would be agreeable to you and also to Mr. Stanton—satisfied as I was that it was the good of the country, and not the office, the latter desired.

On the 15th ultimo, in presence of General Sherman, I stated to you that I thought Mr. Stanton would resign, but did not say that I would advise him to do so. On the 18th I did agree with General Sherman to go and advise him to that course, and on the 19th I had an interview alone with Mr. Stanton, which led me to the conclusion that any advice to him of the kind would be useless, and I so informed General Sherman.

Before I consented to advise Mr. Stanton to resign, I understood from him, in a conversation on the subject immediately after his reinstatement, that it was his opinion that the act of Congress, entitled "An act temporarily to supply vacancies in the executive departments in certain cases," approved February 20, 1863, was repealed by subsequent legislation, which materially influenced my action. Previous to this time I had had no doubt that the law of 1863 was still in force, and notwithstanding my action, a fuller examination of the law leaves a question in my mind whether it is or is not repealed. This being the case, I could not now advise his resignation, lest the same danger I apprehended on his first removal might follow.

The course you would have it understood I agreed to pursue was in violation of law, and without orders from you; while the course I did pursue, and which I never doubted you fully understood, was in accordance with law, and

not in disobedience of any orders of my superior.

And now, Mr. President, when my honor as a soldier and integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from the beginning to the end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law, for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the country. I am in a measure confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders directing me to disobey orders from the Secretary of War—my superior and your subordinate—without having countermanded his authority to issue the orders I am to disobey.

With the assurance, Mr. President, that nothing less than a vindication of my personal honor and character could have induced this correspondence on my part,

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

His Excellency A. Johnson,

President of the United States.

U. S. GRANT, General.

Respectfully forwarded to the Secretary of War for his information, and to be made a part of correspondence previously furnished on same subject.

U. S. GRANT, General.

# Andrew Johnson

Seventeenth President of the United States (1865-1869)

Born Raleigh, N. C., December 29, 1808; died near Carter's Station, Tenn., July 31, 1875.

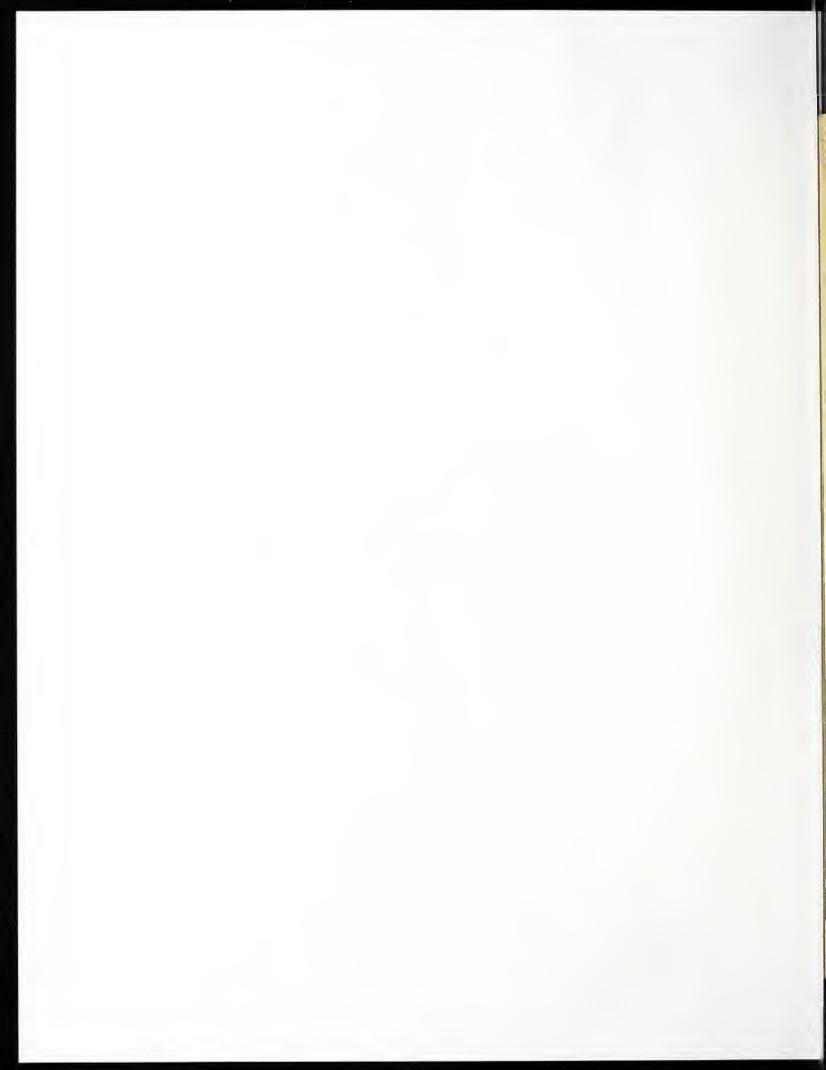
HE man of whom we now speak in his youth was poor, unlettered, and obscure. He had a native vigor of mind and body, and the unfettered opportunity afforded by our institutions of government to test freely his capacities in any direction he saw fit. His necessities compelled him to seek employment as a mechanic, and by the labor of his hands he earned his bread; but in all those years of toil he omitted no opportunity or effort to supply the deficiences in his early education and mental culture. He presented himself as a candidate for public station, and by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens he rose step by step until he became a member of the coördinate House of Congress, then of this body [the Senate], and afterward its presiding officer; then, by an event whose

dreadful tragedy shocked the whole country, he became President of the United States. \* \* \*

Friend and foe alike must admit his steady, unshaken love of country; his constant industry; his simple integrity and honesty; his courage of conviction, that never faltered. All these are worthy examples for the emulation of American youth and the youth of all lands. These home-bred virtues induced a life of simplicity and thoughtful economy; kept his hand clean from even a suspicion of improper gain, and in a long public career preserved him from the many temptations that so often warp men of strong passions and vigorous character like his from the path of duty. He possessed and cherished the fine old-fashioned sense of propriety that prevented his acceptance of gifts from any source or of any nature during his tenure of high official power and patronage, even though proffered in the guise of warm personal and patriotic friendship. His performance of public and official duties was marked by industry and constant care.

Qualities and habits such as these surely are entitled to thankful recognition, and being admirable and wholesome, are always examples needed by a people; by none more than those living under a republican form of government; never more than in the times in which we live.

Andrew Johnson's rise and success in life will ever be an encouragement and incentive to the poor and friendless among his countrymen to cultivate their intellectual faculties; to neglect no opportunity for the best and most important education—self-education; to be industrious and frugal, that they may be, and continue to be, honest men; to avoid those extravagent modes of living which create temptations so difficult to resist; to be steadfast in adversity, and ever faithful to the government which protects them.—Thomas F. Bayard, from Memorial Address in Congress, January 12, 1876.



### RECONSTRUCTION DAYS.

T.

The July number of The North American Review contained a series of important letters bearing on reconstruction days. This series is continued here. Some of these letters recall the questions born with the closing days of the war. Some of them relate to questions a little later than the war days; but all are of interest in the sense of what somebody has called the "Broken Lights of the Foreground."

The burning questions of ante-bellum days were forever settled. The origin of them all was dead. The surrender of the South brought new questions—new experiences. Some of the warleaders had laid down the sword only to mount the rostrum, and, with the assassination of Lincoln, the new war of ideas and words commenced. Was the South IN the Union, or was the South out of the Union? Should the black man be enfranchised, or should he not be enfranchised?

The two problems formed the basis of all other political problems of the day.

Possibly the very first to openly declare an opinion as to negro enfranchisement was Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury. He not only expressed his opinions—he urged his principles on the Administration. The fact lends a double interest to those of his letters here printed, though fragmentary, and, in a sense, private.

Of scarcely less interest are the added letters of Generals Sherman, Grant, Ord, and others, bearing, as they do, on questions that were "burning" fifteen to twenty years ago, and the outgrowth of a conflict that, in the words of President Lincoln, "no mortal could make and no mortal could stay."

S. H. M. BYERS.

II.

The note below, from General Halleck to General Sherman at

Vicksburg, shows the confidence felt in Washington at that time in the judgment of men who had been successful at arms, and who might have opinions worth knowing on eivil affairs.

Private.

Washington, August 27, 1863.

Major-Gen. W. T. Sherman, Vicksburg, Miss.

MY DEAR GENERAL: The question of reconstruction in Louisiana, Miss., and Ark, will soon come up for the decision of the Government, and not only the length of the war, but our ultimate and complete success, will depend upon its decision. It is a difficult matter, but I believe it can be successfully solved, if the President will consult the opinions of cool and discreet men who are capable of looking at it in all its bearings and effects. I think he is disposed to receive the advice of our Generals who have been in these States, and know much more of their condition than gassy politicians in Congress. Gen'l Banks has written pretty fully on the subject. I wrote to Gen'l Grant immediately after the fall of Vicksburg for his views in regard to Miss., but he has not yet answered. I wish you would consult with Grant, McPherson, and others of cool, good judgment, and write me your views fully. As I may wish to use them with the President, you had better write me unofficially, and then your letter will not be put on file, and cannot hereafter be used against you. You have been in Washington chough to know how everything a man writes or says is picked up by his enemies and misconstrued. With kind wishes for your future success, I am yours truly,

H. W. HALLECK.

### TTT

What President Johnson's and Mr. Chase's views were, as to the recognition of official bodies chosen in the South previous to the ending of the war, may be seen by the following letter from Mr. Chase himself. This was just after the death of Mr. Lincoln. It would seem that Mr. Johnson was then more willing to have the military attempt something in a civil way for the restoration of the South than had been the case in the Johnston-Sherman treaty, though Mr. Chase also disapproved the latter. Mr. Lincoln had assured General Sherman, but a few weeks before, that the rebel State governments in existence at the time of their laying down their arms should have temporary recognition.

Mr. Johnson had other views. Admiral Porter has put on record that the terms offered Johnston by General Sherman were, as a matter of fact, President Lincoln's terms. Only his death prevented their approval. President Johnson's retreat from his own policy, and his later denunciation of negro-enfranchisement as an "untried experiment," were the first rocks in the way to reconstruction.

U. S. REV. STEAMER, WAYONDA,

May 5, 1865.

MY DEAR GENERAL: You were kind enough to show me Schofield's telegram. That you may see what my views are, I enclose printed copies of two letters of mine to President Lincoln, written on Tuesday and Wednesday preceding the great crime. They have been printed—a few copies only—for convenience, not for publication.

I have some reason to think that the views they express will ultimately be adopted. Indeed, it seems to me certain that the logic of events will coerce their adoption.

President Johnson is clearly of opinion that no official body or individual, owing election or appointment to rebel votes or authorities, can be recognized by the National Government, but that reorganization should proceed from the people. He would be gratified to have all loyal citizens participate in this work without reference to complexion, believing that by general suffrage the best, safest, and most permanent reorganization would be secured. I have ventured to represent to him the importance of settling some policy—adopting this, if possible—and taking the initiative by proclaiming and recommending it. The matter was under consideration when I left Washington. I am sure that judicious steps taken in this direction by General Schofield, or any other general commanding in a State whose government is disorganized by rebellion, would not be disapproved.

I was glad to have your explanations concerning the arrangement with Johnston. I shared the regret it was made, and disapproved of its terms, which your best friends felt; but neither my confidence in you, nor my gratitude for your services, ever knew the slightest diminution, and I am now as I have ever been since knowing you, with the sincerest admiration and esteem, your friend.

S. P. Chase.

Major-General W. T. SHERMAN.

### IV.

General Sherman's "harshness toward the blacks," referred to by Mr. Chase in the following letter, was more apparent than real. The charge that he looked upon them as a "sort of pariahs almost without rights," will sound amusing to many who knew Sherman's real sentiments. Sherman's mind was taken up, first of all, with putting down the rebellion. That done, he was as ready to protect the colored man as any officer in the country, regardless as to his own sentiments as to the propriety of this or that. On the occasion referred to, when he wished his camp to be cleared of "surplus negroes and mules," he only wished for room. There were too many wagons, too many mules, too many negroes, too many sick soldiers about the camp. They were in his way, and in his request to have them removed, he bluntly put

them together in a phrase, and without a thought of offense or of classing the negroes with the cattle. His later actions proved

Washington, January 2, 1865.

DEAR GENERAL: In common with all loyal men, I partake the gratitude and admiration inspired by the services of your army and yourself. My hopes of you at the beginning were great. They have been more than realized; and I trust that the country's debt to you is yet to be largely augmented.

But there is one feature of your military administration which gives pain to many, and I think I perform the part of a true friend, and infringe no rule

of propriety, in mentioning it to you.

I refer to the apparent harshness of your action towards the blacks. You are understood to be opposed to their employment as soldiers, and to regard them as a sort of pariahs almost without rights. In your first report after opening communication with General Foster, you spoke of the necessity of ridding your camp of the surplus negroes, mules, etc. I do not remember the exact words, but I do remember the report. I felt that an expression classing men with cattle found place in a paper which cannot fail to be historical.

In my judgment, negroes as men have the same rights as other men. The President has, by proclamation and as a military measure, enfranchised those who were held as slaves in the Rebel States. The Attorney-General, in a wellconsidered opinion, has asserted the citizenship of those who are free. And it seems to me not doubtful, that in the political reorganization of the States in insurrection, political as well as natural rights must be conceded to a portion, at least, of the colored population. For myself, indeed, I freely say that I see no reason why all citizens may not vote, subject only to such restrictions as are applicable to all, irrespective of color. I feel sure that the justice and good sense of the people will, at least, demand the right of suffrage for all who are educated, and all who have borne arms in the service of the Union. Without this, at least, I see no security against attempted re-enslavement, against the most inhuman and cruel discrimination and treatment of the colored people as a class, or indeed, against the ascendency of the disloyal element in the insurgent States, as soon as the military pressure shall be removed.

Doubtless you have thought much on these subjects. But may I not ask you to take them again into your consideration? May I not ask you especially to avoid any appearance of harshness or severity which does not represent or express your real sentiments and convictions? You have a great and most responsible position. Your example, for good or evil, will be followed by officers of lower character and less discretion. Your action will influence largely the destinies of multitudes. It is my anxious wish that it may command for you the lasting gratitude of all good men, and the approval of Him who is no

"respecter of persons."

With the sincerest respect and esteem, yours very truly,

Maj. Gen. W. T. SHERMAN.

S. P. CHASE.

### v.

This letter from Mr. Chase to General Sherman not only shows the high regard in which the latter was held by him, but his conscientious wish to smooth matters over after the outrageous action of both Halleck and Stanton toward Sherman, who had been branded almost as a traitor at the very moment he was receiving the nation's applause. Time and investigation, though, have pretty fully convinced the public that the action of Stanton and Halleck was not so much the result of enmity, jealousy, or malice as it was the consequence of a temporary stampede of political sense, following the assassination of the President. The second note below, from Mr. Chase, too, still bears on the enfranchisement of the negro.

### [MOREHEAD CITY, N. C.] U. S. REV. STEAMER WAYONDA,

May 6, 1865.

DEAR GENERAL: I have always been thought a radical in principle, and never have disclaimed the name; but I have tried to be conservative in working, and have generally got along without breaking things. This morning, I met at Beaufort, Col. Taylor, a gentleman of ability, a holder of a hundred and twenty-five slaves before the war, and a handsome estate in lands. He has come to the conclusion that it is best to restore the old constitution of North Carolina, under which all freemen voted, and believes that the Union and Union men will be safest with universal suffrage. I met others with different opinions, but none manifested any such feeling as would lead me to expect any renewal of trouble from the extension of the elective franchise to all loyal citizens, and inviting all to participate in the work of reorganization.

The matter must be left to consideration and reflection. It is a clear duty to be frank and open; and this duty requires the National Government to say distinctly what, in its dictionary, the words "loyal people" mean. The most obvious signification should, in my judgment, be adopted. All loyal men must be taken as the synonymous expression. John Sherman has maintained this view, I am told, since the adjournment of Congress, in a speech in Ohio. But I will trouble you no further with these ideas. Time will try all opinions. Our ends are the same, permanent Union and permanent peace.

Let me, however, most respectfully, but very earnestly, advise against the publication of the general order you have sent me. I cannot see that any good will come of it; but I fear some evil.

My knowledge of the internal administration of the War Department for nearly a year past has been only that which all may gather from the journals, and, of course, I am not well enough informed to judge of the motives of recent action. I cannot believe, however, that it had its origin in any bad feeling towards you; so far as Randal, Johnson, or Secretary Stanton are concerned. Since my conversation with you, I have seen more clearly the motives and

views which governed you. I presume they do also, and will soon become more fully informed and more definitely impressed. I know what your feelings must be, but you are not required to do anything to ensure full justice to your acts and intentions both from the Government and the people.

I hope you will let time and reason do the work of your vindication, and

put the order, at least, in abeyance.

Pardon this expression of opinion on a matter of which you are so much the better judge. Your kindness in permitting me to see the order seems to warrant it.

You are a native of Ohio, a State which adopted me and has dealt most generously with me. Your honor and fame are therefore especially dear to me. Besides this, your brother was my ablest and firmest supporter in my difficult financial administration, and my gratitude to him extends itself in some sort to you. So you must excuse my solicitude, not forgetting that it is that of one a good deal older than you are, who has had a large experience, though less varied perhaps than your own.

Very truly your friend,

Maj.-Gen. W. T. SHERMAN.

S. P. CHASE.

VI.

U. S. REV. STEAMER WAYONDA, [MOREHEAD CITY, N. C.,] May 5, 1865.

My Dear General: Thanks for your note: it is frank and to the point, and what you say shall be carefully pondered. All my opinions have been formed in the light of practical experience, and are subject to all the modifications and corrections it suggests.

You know that I have been long concerned in public affairs, and have had large interests to control and serve, both in Ohio and Washington. The lesson that is strongly impressed on my mind is that boldness and decision, guided by common sense and strict regard to rights, oftenest prove sure guides to safe results; and now my trouble in attempting reorganization without the loyal blacks, proved quite as much from the apprehension that it will work more practical evil than it will avoid, as from any abstract theory.

But you have my views and I have yours. Let us both reflect and observe. I will try to dismiss from my mind all mere preconceptions, and have no doubt you will do the same, and may God guide our country right.

Thinking it may be of some interest to you, and finding one among my papers, I send you a copy of the order to Gen'l Shepley. As I have only one, please return it. Yours most truly,

Maj.-Gen'l W. T. SHERMAN.

S. P. CHASE.

### ANDREW JOHNSON.

A Friend's Reminiscences Great Impeached.

There are some incidents in the life of An-

There are some incidents in the life of Andrew Johnson which I have never rets seen published, and which I grahered from him in an interview in Kashville while in was military governor in Tennessee. In that interview he sold of the great contrast between the property of the property of

# TOWNSEND'S LETTER.

## Lincoln's Care of the Foe Wounded in Battle.

"Honest Abe" as He Looked to Andrew Johnson's Private Secretary.

Ambitions of a President Who Was Too Easily Deceived by Enemies.

WASHINGTON, Feb 23-Col Wright Rives, Andrew Johnson's military secretary, called on me last Saturday night.

He is the son of John Cook Rives, who died before the close of the civil war. known to all the country as of the firm of Blair & Rives, founders of Pres Jackson's organ, the Washington Globe.

Au organ for Andrew Jackson to attack Calhoun and others being resolved upon, and Blair sent for from Kentucky to edit it, a business man was found for the paper in this treasnry clerk. Blair survived Mr Rives 12 years, though the elder by four years, and died a few miles away, in Maryland; both men bought county seats just over the District of Columbia line. Blair's son, Gen Frank, senator, etc, died 1875; his sou, Montgomery, cabinet officer, etc, died

Blair and Rives had to sell the original Globe after Polk's accession to Ritchie of Richmond, to appease Calhoun. Mr Rives then began the Congressional Globe and was the private contractor to print the debates till Grant's administration. He organized the shorthand corps to report

organized the shorthand corps to report congress.
This son, Col Wright Rives, is the last male of the family but one brother.
Col Wright Rives is tall and bony and of a Maryland individuality. Ho lives in a large gray-colored hrick house in an estate of 70 acres, surrounded by towns which have developed from Washington. His father is buried there in a private tomb, surronnded by the stereotyped platos of his paper. The duelling ground of Bladensburg, the battle ground, also, of that village, are in clear sight.
"Colonel," said I, "I have heard that your tather huilt the present Globo office upon the earnings of a bet he made that Pierce would be elected over Scott."

"Father did most of the large betting in that campaign. The Scott men bluffed, and father heard of one of them in the valley of Virginia who had the

### Ready Money to Bet,

so he went there and carried his money with him, and the money has been said to have built the Cougressional Globe office.

have built the Cougressional Globe office.

"My father must have been a sagacious politiciau. He predicted both Polk's and Andrew Johnsou's coming to the presidency many years before they reached that distinction. As I came around to your house tonight I stopped at Senator Islam Harris' of Tennessee, another of father's old friends, who was in congress in 1850. Father gave Harris, whose time-piece was always wrong, a Jurgesson watch, which I think cost father \$500, and Mr Harris carries it now. His room was full of people, and his head is swellod up as if he had crysppelas."

"What did you do at the outhreak of the war?"

war?"
"I organized and instructed regiments before the city half in Washington, and went on Gen Mausfield's staff.
"How came you to know Abraham Lin-

"Lincoln frequently came out to our house near Washington, where father had many our iosities. The portrait of Jackson in miniature painted for father the prosent Andrew Jackson, who is a Robards, I suppose, of Mrs Jackson's stock, pronounced lately to be the best picture of Jackson extant.

"By the way, he says Jackson never used any cotton bales at New Orleans; that the story is a myth. Father raised the District of Columbia regiments for the war. "Father's last state before he came to Maryland was Illinois; so I went on the staff of Johu A. McClernand, an Illinois democrat, and lay before Corinth." "Did Mr Lincoln in any way attest his confidence in you?" "He invited McClernand and I togo to the Antietam and the South mountain country with him after the victories there, which gave him the opening to issue his

which gave him the opening to issue his emancipation proclamation. No other peremancipation proclamation. I son went along but a man who

### Had Been Secretary of State

of Illinois, and whose name at this moment escapes me."

"I have often desired to hear the exact facts about that remarkable jonrney.'

"I will tell you directly why my memory of those events became confused. Mr Lincoln said to McClernand at the white house, 'I want to go to that region and see the soldiers, but they tell me here that I shall not go; that I will he assassinated. Now if I can slip off and say nothing ahout it. I will go.' He came to the National hotel, where we were stopping, at 6 o'clock in the morning, in his carriage, and sent up for us. It was Suuday. We had no breakfast, but we went off. From the moment we got on the cars Lincoln began to tell stories. He seeme I like a boy to have escaped from Washington."

"Were they good stories?"

"The most apt I ever heard and most every one of them exactly fitted the event, as when McClernand professed not to be hungry and Mr. Lincoln likened him to the sly boy who said he seldom ate anything. He was right too, for McClernand after protesting was all devonring. Lincoln wore a stovepipe hat. He showed the most extraordinary tong hness.

"We stopped the first night in a town: it seems to me it was Harper's Ferry. The next day at dawn he was off in an ambulance for Sumner's corps. He slept in tents almost every might, and they had to piece the blankets to suit his great length. His repertoire of stories still ran on tresh and exhaustless."

"Had he also dignity?"

"O, yes. He could be as dignified and was so on an occasion as Gen Washington. He also had a genuine heart, and the pathos of that trip was as notable as its humor. I saw what a great campairner he was. He had to get the army ready for emancipation, which he had recommended the previous March in part.

"He reviewed

Every Man in That Whole Army by corps. starting out, every morning for house, 'I want to go to that region and see the soldiers, but they tell me here that I

### Every Man in That Whole Army

by corps, starting out every morning for nearly a week to visit another headquarters and having the whole corps paraded under

"Did he visit McClellan, too?"

"He did and they seemed to be perfectly affable, and he was so with Fitz Johu Porter. At McClellan's we had reed birds,

affable, and he was so with Fitz Johu Porter. At McClellan's we had reed birds, then in season, and they gave Lincoln a distemper and when he went to the Bush hospital the sentinel embarassed the way hy turning out the guard for the great man."

"Did he visit the rebel wounded?"

"That, I thought, was the great and profound scene of the war. They were in a large barn. Mr Lincoln entered the place of misery, and ho stopped and had himself introduced. He said he was their fellow countryman, and desired to be their friend. He went from man to man.

"One boy told what village he was from. Why,' said Mr Lincoln, 'I have been there.' He described the village and people in it. The boy began to cry at reminiscences of his home. The whole muster of men began to feel a deep emotion. No hand was refused him. He gave orders that at any expense these poor, unhappy men were to have every luxury, medicine and help that the government could buy. They sobbed aloud for surprise and love. He was as much touched a they were." "How was the weather there?"

"A heavy fog came np every night and was dunk up by a violent heat overy day. The thermometer stood at 90° and higher. Mr Lincoln worked like a horse. I had been in the habit at Cornth that summer of taking quinine and whisky every morning. Probably the damp nights and hot days and exercise in the sun at Antietam hrought it on, but when I reached Washington the typhoid fever broke out on me and for six months I was delrions, wasted and given up for dead."

### "What Next?"

"The Halleck combination refused me permission to go to Charleston, where no-body else wanted to go, and live among the swamps. My physicians said I must go to a warm climate. So I went to Vicksburg, where McClernand was on the right. on the Arkansas side. I was suddenly called back from there, and my steamer made direct connection at Memphis with the Silver Moon, which put me ashore at Cairo just as a train was leaving for the east. She was the fastest steamer ou the river.

river.

"I reported at the white house. Mr Lincoln said he did not helieve me, for I had heat his latest mails and dispatches. He asked me if we would take Vicksburg. I said yes; that we iuclosed it and had it undermined, hut had no siege guns to reduce it. 'Why,' said he, 'Halleck says we have,' 'No, sir; except what Admiral Porter has lent McClernand ou the right, some of his ship guns.' He said he conldn tunderstand it, and took ne before the cabinet, then in session. I repeated, at his request, my statement.

lent McClernand ou the right, some of his ship guns.' He said he condn't understand it, and took me before the cabinet, then in session. I repeated, at his request, my statement.

"The president told me to go over and tell the same to Halleck. He began to hully me and threatened to cashier me again for coming to Washington against general order. I told him that Washington was my home and that I was not a mere wanderer. The reduction of Vicksburg put an end to Halleck.

"I was with Pres Johnson during about all his term, which was nearly four full years. He nad been self-educated, had risen from an humble tailor to be governor, senator, vice president, etc, and one would have thought he could not be deceived ahout character. He was the most easily deceived of any man I have ever known. Nearly everybody swindled him. It was done by flattery."

"Mr Johnson suggested to me that if the New York Herald would publish an article laying the hase for a call for Seward's removal or resignation it would suit his wishes. I wrote a letter to Mr Bennett the elder, telling him what would be a favor to the president. The Herald published an editorial. Seward had inquiries made, and the Herald gave me away. Thus Seward saved his official head, hnt the moral unity of the cabinet was sacrificed.

"Mr Johnson lived in one idea, to he the democratic nominee in 1868. Swarms of southerners would come through Washington and call on him and say: There is but one man we will support, and then deliberately cut him in the convention.

"I recollect Gov Ford of Ohio sitting under a portrait of Andrew Jackson in the same room with Mr Johnson, and saying as if to himself, loud enough for Johnson the two greatest men in history!"

"On Gen Dix's staff in New York, much of the time judge advocate. Johnson let the morale of his administration go. He raised an issue with Judge Holt. I got the proceedings of the Mrs Snrratt court martial for him which the debate with Holt began."

"Unideal Proceedings of the Mrs Snrratt court martial for him which t

globe L. 25-1845

Review of the Forces in 1861 and the President's Criticism-The Army of Banners.

Review of the Forces in 1861 and the President's Criticism—The Army of Banners.

Many new anecdotes of Lincoln's life are coming to the surface. Here are two related by a man' whose high military rank early in the war brought him into frequent and more or less intimate conference with President Lincoln. Speaking of the great American yestorday, he said:

"The first review of the army during the war, and at that time the greatest review ever held in this country, was on July 4, 1881, in Washington. A reviewing stand had been erected near the white house in Pennsylvania avenue. President Lincoln and his cabinet occupied it, with Gen. Soott and his staff. Gen. McDowell was charged with the duty of selecting from the regiments to pass in review such as he deemed to be beat qualified in all ways to garrison a camp of instruction to be established at Centerville.

There the three-months men were to be the red out of the service and the new army was to be mistered. The parade was remarkable in many ways. Nearly all the regiments and appraise and plains bearing their distinctive banner. The Iren regiments with their tartains and appraise and plains bearing their distinctive dress and banners. Butterworth's and Ellsworth's zonawes, the New York fremen's brigade, the gorgeous 7th new York regiment, the 6th New York, the 7ist New York, two or three Pennsylvania regiments and two from Rhode Island. I might name more, but the point is that there were state flags, clan flags, mational flags and society flags of all kinds and as many different uniforms.

"President Lincoln watched the parade with the grave manner which was characteristic of him and remarked: 'It is an army of disorganization.' Seventeen days later that army had passed through Bull Run and had lost the battle which it fairly woon merely because

passed through Bull Run and had lost the battle which it fairly won merely because it lacked discipline.

"The next year there was another great review under Gen. McDowell. There had been great changes. The army was organized by carps, divisions and brigades, each designated by some color or badge. All the confusion of flars, and uniforms was gone. At the head of flars, and uniforms was gone. At the head of flars, and uniforms was gone with the same reach regiment floated the day of the nation. Mr. Lincoln watched this parade with the same grave demeanor, and when it was past he turned to me and said: What a difference between an army of banners and an army with a banner. One thing is now needful—to emancipate the interface."

LINCOLD AND JOHNSON.

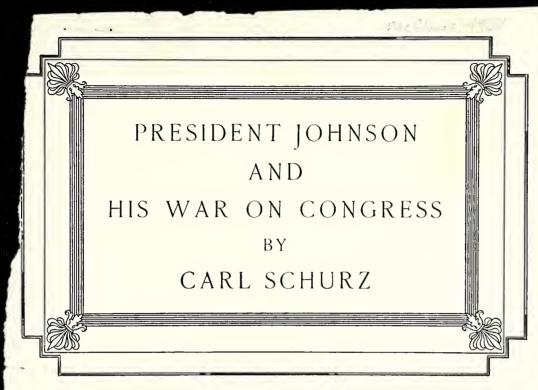
Chauncey M. Depen is made in say in an interview in the Washington Post that if it had not been for a steamboat collision that occurred while he was on his way to his first republican national convention. Dickinson, of New York, instead of Johnson, of Tennessee, would have been nominated for vice president in 1864.

Depew is quoted as saying that, because of the collision, he and his companion, Judge Robertson, went first to Washington instead of to Baltimore, and that Secretary of State Seward asked them to swing the New York delegation for Johnson, with the following explanation. "The republican leaders have fixed it up to nominate Dickinson. I am opposed to it. I believe the border states that have stood so loyal to the union should have recognition. The president knows nothing of what I desire, but I am sure he would approve it."

That would make it appear Lincoln took no active part in the selection of a man for vice president, and the interview goes on to indicate that the nomination of Johnson over Dickinson came as an eleventh hour surprise as a result of the work of Depew and Robertson among the dele-

gates from New York.

Col. A. K. McClure, in his "Lincoln and Men of War Times," throws a different light on the subject. He says that early in 1864 President Lincoln had made up his mind that for political reasons the nomination for vice president should go to a war democrat. His first choice was Gen. Butler, but Butler declined to consider the proposition. Later he sent Gen. Sickles to Tennessee to investigate Johnson's record as military governor. Sickles made a favorable report. Other possibilities besides Johnson were considered, and Dickinson was one of them, but Lincoln came to settle strongly on Johnson, first, because he was, as McClure puts it, "the most conspicuous, most aggressive and most able of all the war democrats of that time," and, second, because the nomination and election of a representative southern man from one of the rebellious states would have a reassuring effect on both France and Great Britain and perhaps avert threatened recognition of the confederacy by these powers. It would be a mistake then to imagine that the nomination of Johnson came as a surprise to Lincoln, or that when Seward intimated that Lincoln knew nothing of his plans to secure the nomination of Johnson he was sticking closely to the truth, or that if Depew and Robertson had not happened to go to the convention by boat the convention would have nominated a New Yorker instead of a Tennesseean. The nomination of Johnson was the result of months of careful investigation and preparation. And it was made upon the advice of and at the request of Lincoln.



ILLUSTRATED WITH PHOTOGRAPHS

WAS on the point of returning to the course some exceptions; but they were rare. West when I received a message from Horace Greeley, the famous editor of the New York Tribune, asking me to take charge of the news bureau of that journal in Washington, as its chief correspondent. Although the terms offered by Mr. Greeley were tempting, I was disinclined to accept, because I doubted whether the work would be congenial to me, and because it would keep me in the East. But Mr. Greeley, as well as some of my friends in Congress, persuaded me that, since I had studied the condition of things in the South and could give reliable information concerning it, my presence in Washington might be useful while the Southern question was under debate. This determined me to assent, with the understanding, however, that I should not consider myself bound beyond the pending session of Congress.

Thus I entered the journalistic fraternity. My most agreeable experience consisted in my association with other members of the craft. I found among the correspondents of the press a number of gentlemen of uncommon ability and high principle — genuine gentlemen, who loved truth for its own sake, who heartily detested sham and false pretense, and whose sense of honor was of the finest. This was the

My more or less intimate contact with public men high and low was not so uniformly gratifying. I enjoyed, indeed, the privilege of meeting statesmen of high purpose, of well-stored minds, of unselfish patriotism, and of the courage of their convictions. But disgustingly large was, on the other hand, the number of small, selfish politicians 1 ran against — men who seemed to know no higher end than the advantage of their party, which involved their own; who were always nervously sniffing for the popular breeze; whose most demonstrative ebullitions of virtue consisted in the most violent denunciations of the opposition; whose moral courage quaked at the appearance of the slightest danger to their own or their party's fortunes; and whose littlenesses exposed them sometimes with involuntary frankness to the newspaper correspondent whom they approached to beg for a "favorable notice" or for the suppression of an unwelcome news item. They were by no means in all instances men of small parts. On the contrary, there were men of marked ability and large acquirements among them. But never until then had I known how great a moral coward a member of Congress may be.

It is probably now as it was then. There rule, to which, as to all rules, there were of were few places in the United States where



AT WHOSE REQUEST CARL SCHURZ BECAME THE CHIEF WASHINGTON CORRESPOND-ENT OF THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE IN 1865

stage were judged as fairly and accurately of the "States lately in rebellion." as they were in Newspaper Row in Washington.

Mr. Greeley, to the end of the winter season, and then accepted the chief-editorship of the Detroit Post, a new journal established at Detroit, Michigan, which was offered to me political war between the executive and the to obscure the judgment of everybody con-

the public men appearing on the national legislative power concerning the reconstruction

## The Beginnings of the Struggle

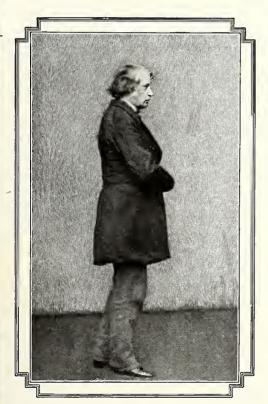
I remained at the head of the Tribune office 1 am sure 1 do not exaggerate when 1 say that in Washington, according to my promise to this political war has been one of the most unfortunate events in the history of this Republic, for it made the most important problem of the time, a problem of extraordinary complexity, which required the calmest and most delicate I might almost say urged upon me - by and circumspect treatment, the foot-ball of a Senator Zachariah Chandler. In the meantime personal and party brawl which was in the I had occasion to witness the beginning of the highest degree apt to inflame the passions and

erned in it. Since my return from the South, the evil effects of Mr. Johnson's conduct in encouraging the reactionary spirit prevalent among the Southern whites had become more and more evident and alarming from day to day. Charles Sumner told me that his personal experience with the President had been very much like mine. When Sumner left Washington in the spring, he had received from Mr. Johnson at repeated intervals the most emphatic assurances that he would do nothing to precipitate the restoration of the "States lately in rebellion" to the full exercise of selfgoverning functions, and even that he favored the extension of the suffrage to the freedmen. The two men had parted with all the appearance of a perfect friendly understanding. But when the Senator returned to Washington in the late autumn that understanding seemed to have entirely vanished from the President's mind and to have given place to an irritated temper and a certain acerbity of tone in the assertion of the "President's policy."

From various other members of Congress I heard the same story. Mr. Johnson, strikingly unlike Abraham Lincoln, evidently belonged to that unfortunate class of men with whom a

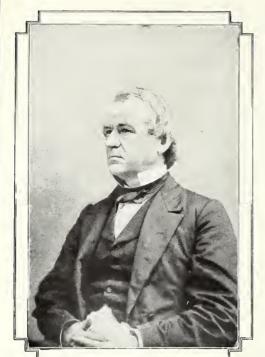
difference of opinion on any important matter will at once cause personal ill feeling and a disturbance of friendly intercourse. By many Congressmen Mr. Johnson was regarded as one who had broken faith, and the memory of the disgraceful exhibition of himself in a drunken state at the inauguration ceremonies, which under ordinary circumstances everybody would have been glad to forget, was revived, so as to make him appear as a person of ungentlemanly character. All these things combined to impart to the controversies which followed a flavor of reckless defiance and rancorous bitterness, the outbursts of which were sometimes almost ferocious.

The first gun of the political war between the President and Congress, which was to rage four years, was fired by Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives by the introduction, even before the hearing of the President's Message, of the resolution already mentioned, which substantially proclaimed that the reconstruction of the late rebel States was the business, not of the President alone, but of Congress. This theory, which was constitutionally correct, was readily supported by the Republican majority, and thus the war





TWO PORTRAITS OF CHARLES SUMNER



PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON
WHOSE RECONSTRUCTION POLICY LED TO THE FOUR
YEARS' WAR BETWEEN HIMSELF AND CONGRESS

was declared. Of Republican dissenters who openly took the President's part, there were but few—in the Senate, Doolittle of Wisconsin, Dixon of Connecticut, Norton of Minnesota, Cowan of Pennsylvania, and, for a short period, Morgan of New York, as the personal friend of Mr. Seward. In the House of Representatives, Mr. Raymond of New York, the famous founder of the New York *Times*, acted as the principal Republican champion of the "President's policy."

## Stevens the Dominating Figure of the Struggle

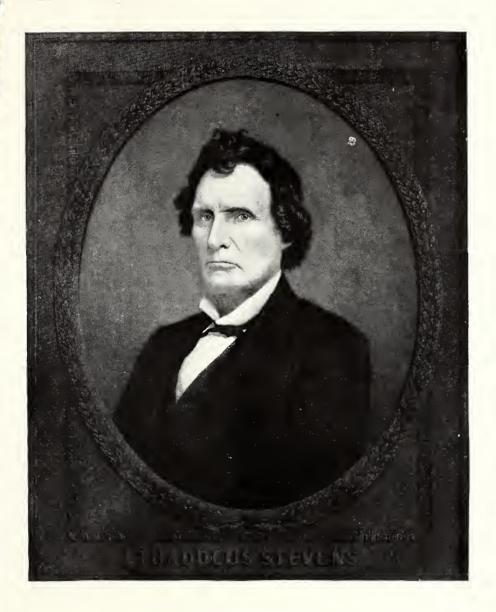
Thaddeus Stevens was the acknowledged leader of the Republicans in the House. Few historic characters have ever been more differently judged from different points of view. A Southern writer of fiction has painted him as the fiend incarnate; others have spoken of him as a great leader of his time, far-sighted, a man of uncompromising convictions, intellectually honest, of unflinching courage and energy. I had come into personal contact with him in the Presidential campaigns of 1860 and 1864, when he seemed to be pleased with my efforts. I had once heard him make a stump speech which was evidently inspired by intense hatred of

slavery, and remarkable for argumentative pith and sarcastic wit. But the impression his personality made upon me was not sympathetic: his face, long and pallid, topped with an ample dark-brown wig which was at the first glance recognized as such; beetling brows overhanging keen eyes of uncertain color which sometimes seemed to scintillate with a sudden gleam; the under lip defiantly protruding; the whole expression usually stern. His figure would have looked stalwart but for a deformed foot which made him bend and limp. His conversation, carried on in a hollow voice devoid of music, easily disclosed a well-informed mind, but also a certain absolutism of opinion, with contemptuous scorn for adverse argument. He belonged to the fierce class of anti-slavery men who were inspired by humane sympathy with the slave and righteous abhorrence of slavery, but also by hatred of the slaveholder. What he himself seemed to enjoy most in his talk was his sardonic humor, which he made play upon men and things like lurid freaks of lightning. He shot out such sallies with a fearfully serious mien, or at least he accompanied them with a grim smile which was not at all like Abraham Lincoln's hearty laugh at his own jests.



From the collection of F. H. Meserve

JOHN SHERMAN
WHO TRIED TO HEAL THE BREACH BETWEEN
PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND THE SENATE



THADDEUS STEVENS

gave pain or pleasure. But now and then a remark escaped him — I say "escaped him," his home, where on one of my campaigning because he evidently preferred to wear the acrid tendencies of his character on the outside them, even with many of his political opponents,

Thus Mr. Stevens' discourse was apt to make — which indicated that there was behind his him appear a hardened cynic, inaccessible to cynicism a rich fund of human kindness and the finer feelings, and indifferent whether he sympathy. And this was strongly confirmed

"old Thad," as they called him, appeared to be eminently popular. They had no end of stories to tell about the protection he had given to fugitive slaves, sometimes at much risk and sacrifice to himself, and of the many benefactions he had bestowed with a lavish hand upon the widows and orphans and other persons in need, and of his generous fidelity to his friends. They did not, indeed. revere him as a model of virtue, but of the occasional lapses of his bachelor life from correct moral standards, which seemed to be well known and freely talked about, they spoke with affectionate lenity of judgment.

When I saw him again in Washington

December, 1865, he looked very much aged since our last meeting, and infirm in health. In repose his face was like a death-mask, and he was carried in a chair to his seat in the House by two stalwart young negroes. There is good authority for the story that once when they had set him down, he said to them, with his grim humor: "Thank you, my good fellows. What shall I do when you are dead and gone?" But his eyes glowed from under his bushy brows with the old keen sparkle, and his mind was as alert as ever. It may be that his age he was then seventy-four - and his physical infirmities, admonishing him that at best he would have only a few years more to live, served to inspire him with an impatient craving and a fierce determination to make the best of his time, and thus to intensify the activity of his mental energies. To compass the abolition of slavery had been the passion of his life. He had hailed the Civil War as the great opportunity. He had never been quite satisfied with Lincoln, whose policy seemed to him too dilatory. He demanded quick, sharp, and decisive blows.

Now that the abolition of slavery was actually



HEAD OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON RECONSTRUCTION, WHICH WAS DENOUNCED BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON AS AN "IRRESPONSIBLE CENTRAL DIRECTORY"

decreed, he saw Presi dent Johnson follow policy which, in his view, threatened to undo the great work. His scornful anger at Andrew Johnson was equaled only by his contempt for the Republicans who sided with the President. He was bound to defeat this reactionary attempt and to see slavery thoroughly killed beyond the possibility of resurrection, at any cost. As to the means to be employed, he scrupled little. He wanted the largest possible Republican majority in Congress, and to this end he would have expelled any number of Democrats from their seats, by hook or crook. When my old friend and quondam law partner, General Halbert E.

at the opening of the Thirty-ninth Congress, in Paine, who was chairman of the Committee on Elections in the House, told him that, in a certain contested election case to be voted upon, both contestants were rascals, Stevens simply asked: "Well, which is our rascal?" He said this, not in jest, but with perfect seriousness. He would have seated Beelzebub in preference to the angel Gabriel, had he believed Beelzebub to be more certain than Gabriel to aid him in beating the President's reconstruction policy. His speeches were short, peremptory, and commanding. He bluntly avowed his purposes, however extreme they seemed to be. He disdained to make them more palatable by any art of persuasion, or to soften the asperity of his attacks by charitable circumlocution. There was no hypocrisy, no cant in his utterances. With inexorable intellectual honesty, he drew all the logical conclusions from his premises. He was a terror in debate. Whenever provoked, he brought his batteries of merciless sarcasm into play with deadly effect. Not seldom, a single sentence sufficed to lay a daring antagonist sprawling on the ground amid the roaring laughter of the House, the luckless victim feeling as if he had heedlessly touched a

heavily charged electric wire. No wonder that could draw with perfect ease and assureven the readiest and boldest debaters were cautious in approaching old Thaddeus Stevens too closely, lest something stunning and sudden happen to them. Thus the fear he inspired became a distinct element of power in his leadership — not a wholesome element, indeed, at the time of a great problem which required the

#### William Pitt Fessenden

A statesman of a very different stamp was Senator Fessenden of Maine, who, being at the head of the senatorial part of the joint Committee on Reconstruction, presided over that important body. William Pitt Fessenden was a man who might easily have been overlooked in a crowd. There was nothing in his slight figure, his thin face framed in spare gray hair and side-whiskers, and his quiet demeanor, to attract particular notice. Neither did his appearance in the Senate Chamber impress one at first sight as that of a great power in that important assembly. I saw him more than

once there walk with slow steps up and down in the open space behind the seats. with his hands in his trousers pockets, with seeming listlessness, while another senator was speaking, and then ask to be heard, and, without changing his attitude, make an argument in a calm conversational tone, unmixed with the slightest oratorical flourish, so solid and complete that little more remained to be said on the subject in question. He gave the impression of having at his disposal a rich and perfectly ordered store of thought and knowledge upon which he

ance. When I was first introduced to him, he appeared to be rather distant in manner than inviting friendly approach. But I was told that ill health had made him unsociable and somewhat morose and testy, and, indeed, there was often the trace of suffering and weariness in his face. It was also remarked in most circumspect and dispassionate treatment. the Senate that at times he was ill-tempered and inclined to include in biting sarcasms and to administer unkind lectures to other senators, which in some instances disturbed his personal intercourse with his colleagues. But there was not one of them who did not hold him in the highest esteem as a statesman of commanding ability and of lofty ideals, as a gentleman of truth and conscience, as a great jurist and an eminent constitutional lawyer, as a party man of most honorable principles and methods, and as a patriot of noblest ambition for his country.

> Being a man also of conservative instincts, averse to unnecessary conflicts, and always disinclined to go to extremes, in action as well as

WHOM PRESIDENT JOHNSON NAMED AS ONE OF THE ENEMIES OF THE REPUBLIC IN HIS SPEECH OF FEBRUARY 22

in language, he was expected to exert a moderating influence in his committee; and this expectation was not disappointed so far as his efforts to prevent a final breach between the President and the Republican majority in Congress were concerned. But regarding the main question whether the "States lately in rebellion should be fully restored to their self-governing functions and to full participation in the government of the Republic without having given reason a b le guaranties for the maintenance of the "legitimate results of the war," he was in

Stevens.

## The President's Logic

It must be admitted that, if we accept his premises, Mr. Johnson made in point of logic a pretty plausible case. His proposition was that a State, in the view of the Federal Constitution, is indestructible; that an ordinance of secession adopted by its inhabitants, or its of the South. It had thus assumed solemn

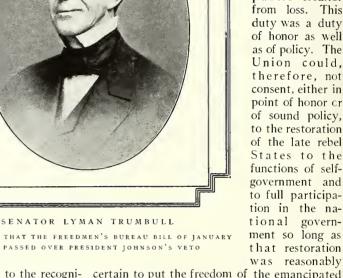
political organs, did not take it out of the Union; that by declaring and treating those ordinances of secession as "null and void," of no force, virtually non-existent, the Federal government itself had accepted and sanctioned that theory; that during the rebellion the constitutional rights and functions of those States were merely suspended, and that when the rebellion ceased they were ipso facto restored; that, therefore, the rebellion having actually ceased, those States were at once entitled to their former

rights and privileges — that is, to the recogni- certain to put the freedom of the emancipated tion of their self-elected State governments and to their representation in Congress. Admitting the premises, this was logically correct in the abstract.

But this was one of the cases to which a saying, many years later set afloat by President Cleveland, might properly have been applied: we were confronting a condition, not a theory. The condition was this: Certain States had through their regular political organs declared themselves independent of the Union. They had, for all practical purposes, actually separated themselves from the Union. They had made war upon the Union. That war put those States in a position not foreseen by the Constitution. It imposed upon the govern- the evident purpose of encouraging loyal move-

point of principle not far apart from Mr. ment of the Union duties not foreseen by the Constitution; by "military necessity," war necessity, the Union was compelled to emancipate the negroes from slavery and to accept their military services. The war had compelled the government of the Union to levy large loans of money and thus to contract a huge public debt. The government had also, in the course of the war, the aid of the Union men

> obligations for value received or services rendered. It had assumed the duty to protect the emancipated negroes in their freedom, the Southern Union men in their security, and the public creditor from loss. This duty was a duty of honor as well as of policy. The Union could, therefore, not consent, either in point of honor cr of sound policy, to the restoration of the late rebel States to the functions of selfgovernment and to full participation in the national government so long as that restoration





serious jeopardy.

WHO MOVED THAT THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU BILL OF JANUARY 12 BE PASSED OVER PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S VETO

## Lincoln's Policy versus Johnson's

slaves, or the security of the Southern Union

men, or the rights of the public creditor, into

It was pretended at the time, and it has since been asserted by historians and publicists of high standing, that Mr. Johnson's Reconstruction policy was only a continuation of that of Mr. Lincoln. This was true only in a superficial sense, and not in reality. Mr. Lincoln had, indeed, put forth reconstruction plans which contemplated an early restoration of some of the rebel States; but he had done this while the Civil War was still going on, and for

nts in those States and of weakening the nfederate State governments there by opsing to them governments organized in the terest of the Union, which could serve as llying-points to the Union men. So long s the rebellion continued in any form and to ny extent, the State governments he contemlated would have been substantially in the ontrol of really loyal men who had been on ne side of the Union during the war. Morever, he always emphatically affirmed, in public s well as private utterance, that no plan of econstruction he had ever put forth was meant o be "exclusive and inflexible," but might be hanged according to different circumstances. Now circumstances did change; they changed ssentially with the collapse of the Confederacy. There was no more organized armed resistance to the national government, to distract which loyal State governments in the South might have been efficacious. But there was an effort of persons lately in rebellion to get possession of the reconstructed Southern State governments for the purpose, in part, of using their power to save or restore as much of the system of slavery as could be saved or restored. The success of these efforts was to be accomplished by the precipitate and unconditional readmission of the late rebel States to all their constitutional functions. This situation had not yet developed when Lincoln was assassinated. He had not contemplated it when he put forth his plans of reconstructing Louisiana and the other States. Had he lived, he would have as ardently wished to stop bloodshed and to reunite all the States as he ever did. But is it to be supposed, for a moment, that, seeing the late master class in the South still under the influence of their old traditional notions and prejudices, and at the same time sorely pressed by the distressing necessities of their situation, intent upon subjecting the freedmen again to a system very much akin to slavery, Lincoln would have consented to abandon those freedmen to the mercies of that master class!

The Personal Bitterness of the Struggle
No less striking was the difference of the two
policies in what may be called the personal
character of the controversies of the time.
When the Republican majority in Congress
had already declared its unwillingness to accept
President Johnson's leadership in the matter
of reconstruction, a strong desire was still
manifested by many Republican senators and
members of the House to prevent a decided
and irremediable breach with the President.
Some of them were sanguine enough to hope
that more or less harmonious coöperation, or

at least a peaceable modus vivendi, might still be obtained. Others apprehended that the President's policy, with its plausibilities, might after all find favor with the popular mind, which was naturally tired of strife and excitement, eager for peace and quiet, and that its opponents might appear as reckless disturbers. Still others stood in fear of a rupture in the Republican party, which, among other evil consequences, might prove disastrous to their own political fortunes. Several men of importance, such as Fessenden and Sherman in the Senate and some prominent members of the House, seriously endeavored to pour oil upon the agitated waters by making speeches of a conciliatory tenor. Indeed, if Andrew Johnson had possessed only a little of Abraham Lincoln's sweet temper, generous tolerance, and patient tact in the treatment of opponents, he might at least have prevented the conflict of opinions from degenerating into an angry and vicious personal brawl. But the brawl

was Johnson's congenial atmosphere. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate, on January 12, 1866, reported a bill to continue the existence, to increase the personnel, and to enlarge the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau. It was discussed in both Houses with great thoroughness and in a temperate spirit, and the necessity of the measure for the protection of the freedmen and the introduction of free labor in the South was so generally acknowledged that the recognized Republican friends of the President in the Senate as well as in the House supported it. It passed by overwhelming majorities in both Houses, and everybody. even those most intimate with the President, confidently expected that he would willingly accept and sign it. But on the 19th of February he returned it with his veto, mainly on the assumed ground that it was unnecessary and unconstitutional, and also because it was passed by a Congress from which eleven States, those lately in rebellion, were excluded thus throwing out a dark hint that before the admission of the late rebel States to representation this Congress might be considered constitutionally unable to make any valid laws at all. Senator Trumbull, in an uncommonly able. statesmanlike, and calm speech, combated the President's arguments and moved that the bill pass, the President's veto notwithstanding. But the "Administration Republicans," although they had voted for the bill, now voted to sustain the veto, and, there being no twothirds majority to overcome it, the veto prevailed. Thus President Johnson had won a victory over the Republican majority in Congress. This victory may have made him

believe that he would be able to kill with his veto all legislation unpalatable to him, and that, therefore, he was actually master of the situation. He made the grave mistake of underestimating the opposition.

## A Humiliating Spectacle

On February 22, 1866, a public meeting was held in Washington for the purpose of expressing popular approval of the President's reconstruction policy. The crowd marched from the meeting-place to the White House to congratulate the President upon his successful veto of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill. The President, called upon to make a speech in response, could not resist the temptation. He then dealt a blow to himself from which he never recovered. He spoke, in the egotistic strain usual with him, of the righteousness of his own course, and then began to inveigh in the most violent terms against those who opposed him. He denounced the joint Committee on Reconstruction, the committee headed by Fessenden, as "an irresponsible central directory" that had assumed the powers of Congress, described how he had fought the leaders of the rebellion, and added that there were men on the other side of the line who also worked for the dissolution of the Union. By this time some of the uproarious crowd felt that he had descended to their level, and called for names. He mentioned Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, and Wendell Phillips as men who worked against the fundamental principles of the government, and excited the boisterous merriment of the audience by calling John W. Forney, the Secretary of the Senate and a prominent journalist, "a dead duck" upon whom "he would not waste his ammunition." Again he spoke of his rise from humble origin, - a tailor who "always made a close fit," — and broadly insinuated that there were men in high places who were not satisfied with Lincoln's blood, but, wanting more, thought of getting rid of him, too, in the same way.

I remember well the impression made by this speech as it came out in the newspapers. Many if not most of the public men 1 saw in Washington, remembering the disgraceful appearance of Andrew Johnson in a drunken state at the inauguration, at once expressed a belief that he must have been in the same condition when delivering that speech. Most of the newspapers favoring the President's policy were struck dumb. Of those opposing him, most of them spoke of it in grave but evidently restrained language. The general feeling was one of profound shame and hu-

miliation in behalf of the country.

In Congress, where Mr. Stevens, with characteristic sarcasm, described the wh story of the President's speech as a maligna invention of Mr. Johnson's enemies, the ho of preventing a permanent breach between hi and the Republican majority was even the not entirely extinct. On the 26th of February Sherman made a long and carefully prepare speech in the Senate, advocating harmony He recounted all the virtues Andrew Johnso professed and all the services he had rendered and solemnly affirmed his belief that he had always acted upon patriotic motives and in good faith. But he could not refrain from deeply regretting his speech of the 22d o He added that it was "impossibl February." to conceive a more humiliating spectacle that the President of the United States invoking the wild passions of a mob around him with the utterance of such sentiments as he uttered on that day." Still, Mr. Sherman thought that "this was no time to quarrel with the Chief Magistrate." Other prominent Republicans, such as General J. D. Cox of Ohio — one of the noblest men I have ever known, — called upon him to expostulate with him in a friendly spirit, and he gave them amiable assurances, which, however, subsequently turned out to have been without meaning. Then something happened which cut off the last chance of mutual approach.

On March 13th the House passed the Civil Rights Bill, which the Senate had already passed on the 2d of February. Its main provision was that all persons born in the United States, excepting Indians, not taxed, were declared to be citizens of the United States, and such citizens of every race and color should have the same right in every State and Territory of the United States to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to have the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as was enjoyed by white citizens. The bill had nothing to do with "social equity," and did not in any way interfere with Mr. Johnson's scheme of reconstruction. In fact, it was asserted, no doubt truthfully, that Mr. Johnson himself had at various times shown himself, by word and act, favorable to its provisions. It appeared, indeed, in every one of its features so reasonable and so necessary for the enforcement of the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment prohibiting slavery, that disapproval of it by the President was regarded as almost impossible. Aside from the merits of the bill, there was another reason,

eason of policy, for the President to sign it. d he done so, he would have greatly enuraged the conciliatory spirit which, in spite all that had happened, was still flickering many Republican bosoms, and he might us, even at this late hour, have secured an fective following among the Republicans in ongress. But he did not. He returned the ill to Congress with a veto message so weak argument that it appeared as if he had been boriously groping for pretexts to kill the ill. One of the principal reasons he gave was gain the sinister one that Congress had passed he bill while eleven States were unrepresented, hus repeating the threatening hint that the alidity of the laws made by such ? Congress hight be questioned.

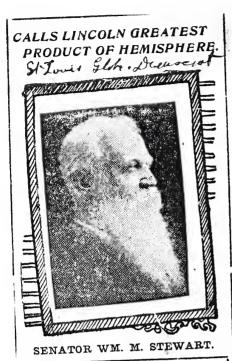
## False Encouragement to the South

Congress promptly passed the bill over the President's veto by a two-thirds majority in each House, and thus the Civil Rights Bill became a law. President Johnson's defeat was more fatal than appeared on the surface. The prestige he had won by the success of his veto of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill was lost again. The Republicans, whom in some way he had led to expect that he would sign the Civil Rights Bill, now believed him to be an insincere man capable of any treachery. The last chance of an accommodation with the Republican party was now utterly gone. But, worse than all, the reactionists in the South, who were bent upon curtailing the freedom of the emancipated negroes as much as possible, received his veto of the Civil Rights Bill with shouts of delight. Believing him now unalterably opposed to the bestowal, upon the freedmen, of equal civil rights such as were specified in the bill, they hailed President Johnson as their champion more loudly than ever. Undisturbed by the defeat of the veto, which they looked upon as a mere temporary accident, they easily persuaded themselves that the President, aided by the Administration Republicans and the Democratic party at the North, would at last surely prevail, and that now they might safely deal with the negro and the labor question in the South as they pleased. The reactionary element felt itself encouraged to the point of foolhardiness by the President's attitude. Legislative enactments and municipal ordinances and regulations tending to reduce the colored people to a state of semi-slavery multiplied at a lively rate. Measures taken for the protection of the emancipated slaves were indiscriminately denounced in the name of the Constitution of the United States as acts of

insufferable tyranny. The instant admission to seats in the national Congress of senators and representatives from the "States lately in rebellion" was loudly demanded as a constitutional right, and for these seats men were presented who but yesterday had stood in arms against the national government, or who had held high place in the insurrectionary Confederacy. And the highest authority cited for all these denunciations and demands was Andrew Johnson, President of the United States.

The impression made by these things upon the minds of the Northern people can easily be imagined. Men of sober ways of thinking, not accessible to sensational appeals, asked themselves quite seriously whether there was not real danger that the legitimate results of the war, for the achievement of which they had sacrificed uncounted thousands of lives and the fruits of many, many years of labor, were in grave jeopardy again. Their alarm was not artificially produced by political agitation; it was sincere and profound, and began to grow angry. The gradual softening of the passions and resentments of the war was checked. The feeling that the Union had to be saved once more from the rule of the "rebels with the President at their head" spread with fearful rapidity, and well-meaning people looking to Congress to come to the rescue were becoming less and less squeamish as to the character of the means to be used to that end.

This popular temper could not fail to exercise its influence upon Congress and to stimulate the radical tendencies among its members. Even men of a comparatively conservative and cautious disposition admitted that strong remedies were necessary to avert the threatening danger, and they soon turned to the most drastic as the best. Moreover, the partizan motive pressed to the front to reinforce the patriotic purpose. It had gradually become evident that President Johnson, whether such had been his original design or not, - probably not, — would by his political course be led into the Democratic party. The Democrats, delighted, of course, with the prospect of capturing a President elected by the Republicans, zealously supported his measures and flattered his vanity without stint. The old alliance between the pro-slavery sentiment in the South and the Democratic party in the North was thus revived — that alliance which had already cost the South so dearly in the recent past by making Southern people believe that if they revolted against the Federal Government the Northern Democracy would stand by them and help them to victory.



GREAT MEN OF 1860 FRANKLY DISCUSSED. Senator, in Painting with Bold

Strokes the Limelight Figures and Social Conditions of the Civil War Period, Outvies All Other Writers in Eulogy of Lincoln.

## Stewart's Reminiscences.

"The Reminiscences of William Stewart," edited by George R. Brown (the Neale Publishing Company), forms interesting reading. The romance of the Far West in the days before the war figures in the early pages as the story of Senator Stewart's acquaintance with mining camp llfe and all the rude conditions of Nevada

life and all the rude conditions of Nevada comes out in his recollections. The circumstances and events that led up to his inal place of prominence and success are full of interest, and the novelist could present no more moving story than the whole record covers.

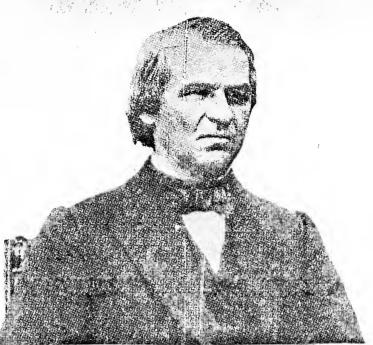
Of the later life, which takes in national and historic features, much that is of equal though different interest is given. The personal view of great men and events has always a fresh touch and events has always a fresh touch and charm, and this Western senator discloses it in a marked degree. As with all who came within range of Lincoln's personality, he felt the greatness of the man, as well as the underlying sadness of his spirit. He rather outvies all his admirers in declaring Lincoln "the greatest being this hemisphere has ever produced." There is something almost revoiting, however, in his opposite picture of Andrew Johnson, and that the man warranted it is a sad fact in connection with his hight

place in national office. It was on the morning following Lincoin's assassination that Senator Stewart went with 'Chief Justice Chase to Johnson's quarters. He was present when Chase administered the oath of office, and he describes Johnson's appearance as they entered the two little rooms at the hotel where he boarded. 'He had the appearance,' he writes. "Of a drunken man; was dirty, shabby, his hair matted as though with mud from the gutter, while he blinked at us through squinting eyes and lurched around unsteadily; he had been on a bender for a month; was in bare feet, and only partially dressed, as though he had hurriedly drawn on a pair of trousers and a shirt."

No more pittable picture has ever been found among the Many pitiful ones that have been given to this unhappy subject, and one turns with relief from it to more genial touches of the writer's graphic pen when dealing with such a character as Mark Twain, for instance, whom he declares "the most tovable scamp and nuisance who ever blighted Nevada." His characterization of President Harrison as "gifted beyond comparison with a capacity to be disagreeable and always gave offense whether granting or refusing a favor," contrasts somewhat with the story of the reporter who was sent on Harrison's trail to catch him in some offensive utterance that might be turned against him and his party, but gave it up after skillful effort, on the ground that he never made one statement or trip that by any possibility could do other than redound to his own credit and his party's.

Senator Stewart speaks his mind certainly without fear or favor anywhere, and his words consequently carry the weight that belongs ever to an honest utterance from an intelligent speaker. Of John Sherman he has peculiarly severe things to say. The true condition of things at Washington in Lincoin's time is faithfully presented, even to the mud in the streets that made them almost impassable and frequently consumed an hour of valuable time in making way through his form the White House to the

## Knickerbocker, aug. 31, 1913.



[From a letter by President Andrew Johnson, written at the White House, August 3, 1868, to Benjamin C. Truman, now printed in the Century Magazine.]

TOU allude to the vote on impeachment as a "close shave." It was not so close as most people think; for Senator Morgan of New York would have cast his vote against impeachment rather than to have seen Ben Wade succeed to the presidential chair. Now, I have been true to the Union and to my friends, and have been generally temperate in all things. I may have erred in not carrying out Mr. Blair's request in putting into my cabinet Morton, Andrew and Greeley. I do not say I should have done so, or that I would do so had I my career to go over again, for it would have been hard to have put out Seward and Welles, who had served satisfactorily under the greatest man of all. Morton would have been a tower of strength, however, and so would Andrew. No senator would have dared to vote for my impeachment with those two men in my cabinet.

Grant was untrue. He meant well for the first two years, and more that I did than was denounced was through his advice. He was the strongest man of all in the support of my policy for a long while, and did the best he could for nearly two years in strengthening my hands against the adversaries of constitutional government. But Grant saw the radical handwriting on the wall, and heeded it. I did not see it, or, if seeing

it, did not heed it. Grant did the proper thing to save Grant, but it pretty nearly ruined me. I might have done the same thing under the same circumstances. At

any rate most men would.

Mr. Lincoln is the greatest American that has ever lived. I do not mean by this to detract from the name of Washington; but Washington was an Moriadaman, you know, after all. I doubt whether there will ever be another Washington or Lincoln.

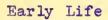
Butler is the most daring and unscrupulous demagog I have ever known. But his services for the Union during the war can never be overestimated. I can never thoroughly despise him on that account, although he even attempted to class me with Lincoln's assassins. As radical a Republican as he was, you will live to see him away over on the other side, and on all sides—remember what I say; he is the biggest political demagog this country has ever produced. No human being but Grant could have bottled him up.

I shall go to my grave with the firm belief that Davis, Cobb, Toombs, and a few others of the arch-conspirators and traitors should have been tried, convicted and hanged for treason. There was too much precious blood spilled on both sides not to have held the leading traitors responsible.

If it was the last act of my life I'd hang Jeff Davis as an example. I'd show coming generations that, while rebellion was too popular a revolt to punish many who participated in it, treason should be made odious and arch traitors should be punished.

Knickerbocker, jan. 26, 1913.

ANDREW JOHNSON.....



Education

Character

Private Life

Public Life..... from Men and Measures of Half a Century "

by Hugh McCulloch.

William Longworth,

6-5-19.

Andrew Johnson

#### ANDREW JOHNSON.

No public man in the U.S. has been so imperfectly understood as Andrew Johnson. None has been so difficult to understand. He had few personal friends; in no one did he entirely confide. He had many faults, but he abounded also in admirable qualities. His love of the Union was a passion intensified by the dangers to which it had exposed him, and by his labors in its defense.

Further discussion of Johnson will be treated under the following headings:

- a. Ancestryb. Birth place
- 2. Education
- 3. Career
- 4. Presidency
  a. events
  b. attitudes

1....Andrew Johnson was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, where there were few free schools, he did not know the alphabet when, at the age of ten he was apprenticed to a tailor.

2....His desire to learn to read was created by hearing a man who used to visit the tailor shop read passages from speeches of celebrated orators. To satisfy this desire, he purchased a spelling-book and by hard sturdy work, when he had time, he was able brfore the expiration of his apprenticeship to read speeches which he had listened to with so much interest. He soon desired to become an orator himself.

Ability to read was the extent of his education, when he markings moved from Raleigh to Greenville, Tennessee, with hismother and sister who were dependent on him for support; and this was its extent until he married. His wife for the time and place was an accomplished young woman. Under her instruction he learned to write and cipher. She was a loving teacher, the only teacher he ever had, and he was an ambitious scholar. Such were the educational advantages of Johnson.

To nothing was he indebted to his rise except the strong qualities he inherited, and an open field for their exeins exercise. While working at his trade he was elected Mayor of Greenville; next a member to the state legislature; next a member of the state Senate, and he worked at his trade as far as his public duties would permit, until he was elected to Congress in 1843. He was the first tradesmen who was sent from a slave state to Congress. 28 (20) Mayor alderman

3.... In 1853 Johnson was elected Governor of Tenn.

35-41 State Lag 41-43

130-34 (22-26) mayor

In 1857 he became Senator from that state. '53-'53 Cong (45-49)

In 1862 he was appointed by Lincoln military governor of Tenn.

Later he became Vice-President of the United States.

From 1869 to 1875 he was in private life.

In 1875 he was elected to the Senate.

In July of 1875 he died.

Such is and outline of the life of one of the most extraordinary men of our country.

4....Mr. Johnson was a man of unblemished personal integrity. He was an honest man, and his administration was an honest and clean administration. In this respect it will bear comparison with any that prededed or has followed it. In appointments, money was not potent. Offices were not merchandise, The President never permitted himself to be placed under personal obligation to any one. He received no present. The horses and carriage which were sent to him soon after he became President were promptly returned. When he was so unwise as to suppose that there might be a third party, of which he was to be the head, he did, under the advise of injudicious friends, make some official changes to usually to accomplish this object; but there were fewer changes than are usually made even when an admisistration follows one of the same party. There were more offices connected with the Treasury Department that with any other, and it is due to Mr. Johnson that his desire seemed always except for a very brief period, independently of political considerations. In his bitter contest with Congress, although most of the employes of the department were politically opposed to him and his Reconstruction policy he never even suggested that changes should be made for that reason. If he did not declare that public offices were public trusts, his actions proved that he so regarded them. In some matters the correctness of his judgement are doubted, but his devotion to what he considered his duty to the country, and the whole country are not doubted. He was a laborious painstaking man. For him, fashionable watering-places had no attractions. Neither by him or by any member of his Cabinet was recuperation sought at the seashore or in the mountains. His administration had little popular and no distinctive party support; but judged by its merits, as sooner or later it will be, it will cast no dicredit upon the national honor.

The first great work which demanded the attention of Mr. Johnson and his Cabinet was the restoration of the relation between the Southern States and the Government, which he and the members of his Cabinet regarded as having been suspended but not destroyed by the war; and this work was taken up just where hr. Lincoln had left it. The very same instrument for restoring the national authority over Horth Carolina, and placing her where she stood before her attempted secession, which had been approved by Mr. Lincoln, which was held at the Executive Mansion after Mr. Lincoln's death, and having been carefully considered at two or three meetings, was adopted as the Reconstruction palicy of the Administration. As the work went on during the summer and autumn, there were complaints, chiefly from men who were opposed to what they called the readmission to the Union of the Souther States before Congress had authorized it. Their contention was, that manhood suffrage, irrespective of color, should be the conner stone in the reconstruction of the Southern States, and that they should remain under military control until that question was settled, and until Congress should determine what else should be requied in order that they might regain the right which they had forfeited by their rebellion. The President and his Cabinet, an the contrary, thought that the best interests of the whole country demanded that the work of reconstruction whould go on as rapidly as was possible and as it had been commenced. Neither he nor either of his counselors thought it advisable that a special session of Congress should be called, or that reconstruction should be delayed until the regular session. All thought as the Executive action was in harmony with the views of Mr. Lin.. coln, which were well known, before his second election that the true Union sentiment of the country would be satisfied with what was being done notwithstanding the adverse criticism of some prominent men and a few public journals. In......

Until the soring of 1866, a hear after hr. Johnson becmae President there was entire harmony between him and his cabinet. In the work of restoring the relations between the Government and the States which had attempted to secede from the Union, which work was taken up where Mr. Lincoln had left it, and which was being prosecuted on the same line, they were a unit. A change took place soon after the Civil Rights bill became a law over the President's veto, and bitter controversy arose between the President and Congress. In this controversay and at its commencement, Mr. Dennison and Mr. Harlan sided with Congress and tendered their resignations, which were very reluctantly accepted. They resigned because they could not heartily sustain the President, but there was no breach of the social relation which had existed between them. Mr. Speed soon after followed the example of Dennison and Harlan. Mr. Stanton also sided with Congress, but he did not resign. He was advised by prominent political and personal fixem friends to stick, and he did so, contrary to all prededent and in oppostition to the judgment of conservative associates, who resigned when they could no longer give to the President a hearty support, he held on to his place. He attended the Cabinet meetings, not as an adviser of the President, but as an opponent of the policy to which he had himself been committed, and the Presiden lacked the nerve to dismiss him. The failure of the President to exercise his right to rid himself of a minister who differed with him upon very important question, who had become personally obnoxious to him, and whom he regarded as an enemy and a spy, was a blunder for which there was no excuse.

#### JOHNSON AS PRESIDENT.

In his administration of the Government, ir. Johnson labored under great disadvantages. He had been a Democrat, but his connection with the Democratic party was severed when he became the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency. He was disowned by the Republicans when he antagonized the Reconstruction measures of Congress. For a good part of his term he was President without a party. The Democratic Senator in a body stood by him in his impeachment trial; but they did so, not from personal regard, but because the trial was political, and because they approved of his Reconstruction policy, which was in harmoney with the Democratic doctrine in regard to the constitutional rights of the States; but they never gave to him or to his administration cordial support. By the Republican press, and by some members of Congress, he was denounced as a traitor, not only to his party, but to the county. His services during the war, in Rx recognition of which he had been nominated for Vice-Presidency; the bravery which he had displayed in his contests with the secessionists of Tennessee; the terible trials to which his family were subjected by his fidelity to the Union, were all xxxixxxx ignored, buried, forgotten.

## HIS CHARACTER.

No matter how unpopular or severely criticised a man occupying a high position may have been while in active life, there is usually a dispostion, even on the part of those who were the most hostile to him to be generous to his memory. This dispostion has not been manifested in Mr. Johnson's case. It is not often that kindly mention is made of him upon the platform or in the press. Among those who have filled high places with ability, or rendered distinguished services to their country, his name is rarely classed; and yet when the history of the great events with which he was connected has been faithfully written, there will appear fewxmaxenxentotrectxtaxpreaterxxonocxcaptxexxtxatxbfx few names entitled to greater honor and respect that that of Andrew Johnson His faults were patent: he was incapable of disguise. He was a combatant by temperament. If he did not court controversy, he enjoyed it. He rarely tried to accomplish his ends by policy; when he did, he subjected himself to the charge of demagogy. In tact he was utterly deficient, and he ran against snags which he might easity have avoided. Naturally distrustful, he gave his confidence reluctantly never without reserve; he had therefore few constant friends. These peculiarities and defects in his character were manifest, and they were severe drawbacks upon his usefulness in public life. On the other hand, he never cherished animosity after a contest was over. He never failed in generosity towards a defeated foe. He was brave honest, truthful. He never shrak from danger, disregarded an engagement, or was unfaithful to his pledges. His devotion to the Union was a passion. There was no sacrifice that he was not willing to make, no peril that he was not willing to encounter in its defence. It was not mere emotion that prompted the direction that the flag of his country..the Stripes and Stars.. shouldbe his winding sheet, but the expression of his devotion to the principles which it represented. He was a kind and helpful neighbor, a tender and indulgent father. He was proud of his daughters, and he had reason to be for they were devoted to him; and more sensible, unpretending women never occupied the Executive Mansion. In intellectual he had few superiors. He had, as has been stated, no education advantages, but he made such use of opportunities that he never failed to fill with credit the

Page 5.....

various places which he held in his way up to the highest position in the Government. The carefully prepared speeches which he made in the House and Senate chamber in Washington were always to the point. His messages, except his vetoes, written by hemself, with no other help than what he received from his private secretary, bear favorable comparison with the messages of those who prededed him or have followed him.

POPULAR IN JUSTICE TO HIS MEMORY.

No one could truthfully say that he was intemperate; and yet a Methodist bishop, a few years ago, in a speech which he made at Woodstock, Connecticut, on the Fourth of July, in eulogy of General Grant, referred to his predecessor as having been a "drunken imbecile;2 and this expression shameful and brutal and false as it was, was listened to by a crowd of hightly intelligent and respectable people, without rebuke, and published in a religious paper without comment. A distinguished clergyman, in a historical sermon or address, recently delivered in Washington, spoke at length of Tyler, of Fillmore, of Arthur, of all the Vice-Presidents who became Presidents by virture of their office as Vicr-President, except Johnson whose name wasnot even mentioned. And yet who can say that he served the country less faithfully thanthey did, or that his life-long services were less valuable that their?

from "Men and Measures Of Half A Century"

by Hugh Mc Culloch.

William Longworth.

6-5-19.

## Humble Tailor Shop, Now a Shrine of Americanism

Little Log House Where Andrew Johnson, a Future President, Tolled at His Craft, Is to Be Preserved as a Memorial to Lincoln's Successor.

212-24 From the Boston Globe.

IKE Lincoln's cabln, the weatherbeaten little frame tailor shop of Andrew Johnson, successor to Abraham Lincoln in the White House, is preserved for future generations, a mecca for patriots, a mute me-morial to the rugged East Tennessean who, from poverty and illiteracy, rose stow. The little shop is more than a the ticket with Abraham Lincoln. Thus place where the seventeenth President the Kentucky rail-splitter and the apof the United States made garments; it prentice tailor, both born in poverty, ls today a testimoulal to the opportunity went into office.
of American youth to achieve the out.

Then on that

verse circumstances.

This shrine of Americans has just Booth, the responsibility of chief execubeen dedicated. The celebration was in the building in Greeneville, Tenn.,

which has been erected with funds provided by the Tennessee legislature, to preserve the little shop.

The little shop is more than 100 years old. In the interior can be seen only a large fireplace and bare walls, except for some remnants, which indicate Johnson had attempted to decorate the place

with a kind of wallpaper.

The old bench on which Andrew Johnson did his tailoring is now in posses sion of his graudson, Col, Andrew Johnson Patterson. The bench will be re-

moved to the shop with other relics.

His apprenticeshlp to a Raleigh tailor had expired when the boy, then 18 years old, wished to see something of the world beyond the mountains. Leading an old blind pony hitched to a wobbly cart, the lad made his way through the wilderness, following the trail which had been blazed by Daniel Boone, John Sevier and other pioneers.

Reaching Greeneville, a quiet village nestling at the foot of the mountain range, Andy was impressed with the place and decided to stop there.

WIFE TAUGHT HIM TO READ.

The boy yearned to read and write as he had seen others do while in the tailor shop at Raleigh. Letters of the alphabet were taugh him by a man in Greeneville. Then a big thing occurred in his life, something to which perhaps he owed the presidency. It was his mar-rlage, when 18 years old to Eliza Mc-Cardie, who, like a sacrificing wife, gave up her school in the mountains to teach her boy husband.

His wife found him a sincere pupil.
A new Interest in life had been awakened in him. Diligently he applied himself to his lessons and made good

progress.
When his wife was busy with household tasks during the day, the young tailor would hire a boy to read to him. At night, as Andrew continued his work, his wife would teach him more and go over his lessons.

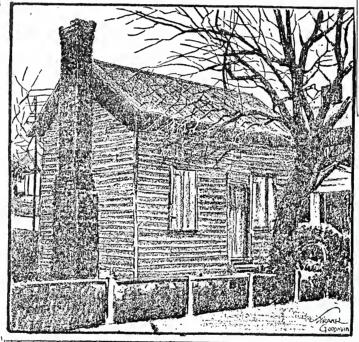
When only 20 years of age ho was elected alderman in Greeneville. Then, between 1830-34, the little village made him its mayor. He began in politics by opposing the aristocratic element, the slave owners of the time.

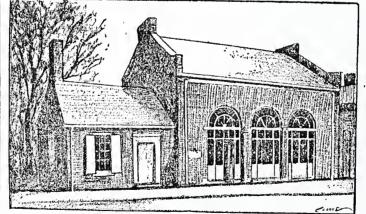
At 27 he was elected to the Tennessee legislature. First he went to the house and later to the senate.

In 1853 he was made governor of the state. state. Four years later he became United States senator, which he resigned at the insistence of President Lincoln to accept appointment as brigadler general and military governor of Tennessee.

He was nominated by the National to the highest honor the people can be- Union convention for vice-president on

Then on that night of April 14, 1865, standing honor of the nation, despite ad- when the country was plunged into sor-





THE LOG HOUSE IN WHICH ANDREW JOHNSON CONDUCTED HIS TAILOR SHOP. AND THE the street through large glass doors.

NEW BUILDING WHICH NOW ENCLOSES IT.

STRIFE IN OFFICE.

But when he tried to carry out the policy of lenlency toward the South which Abraham Lincoln had adopted, Johnson encountered terrific opposition from the Republican congress. The bitterness continued between the President and congress and an effort was made to impeach him, which falled.

After the close of his term as Presldent, Johnson retired to private life in Greeneville and later was elected to the United States senate, being the former President who was ever elected

to the senate.

above Greeneville, July 31, 1875. His body rests beside that of his wife on a beautiful hill at the edge of the little city of Greeneville.

In a frame hanging on the wall, of the Patterson home is the original statement which Andrew Johnson wrote when he was expecting death and are hls last recorded words, as follows:
"All seems gloom and despair.

have performed my duty to my God, my country and my family. I have nothing to fear. Approaching death to me is the mere shadow of God's protections are the shadow of God's protections. tecting wing. Beneath it, I almost feel sacred. Here I know no evil can come; there I will rest in quiet and peace, beyond the reach of calumny's poisoned shaft, the influence of cnvy and jealous enemies, where treason and traitors in

state, backsliders and hypocrits church, can have no place, where the great fact will be realized that God is truth, and gratitude is the highest tribute of man."

The Tennessee Historical Commission has just been presented a long-tail coat which was tailored by Andrew Johnson when he was governor of Tenuessee. There is a little story connected with that gift. Judge Pepper, father of W. W. Pepper of Springfield, Tenn., was then circuit judge, having risen from the anvil to the judicial bench. The judge wisbed to show his esteem to his friend who had been made governor and so went back to the blacksmith's shop where he made a shovel, poker and pair of tongs for Johnson. Johnson was pleased and determined to reciprocate, so he got a piece of fine cloth, wielded a needle carefully and tailored

for Judge Pepper a fashionable coat.
The building for the preservation of
the old tailor shop incloses the little
frame structure which can bo seen from

ailies oner, Jr. aged 21 years

## Ten Dollars Reward.

AN AWAY from the Subscriber, on the Inglish of the 15th instant, two apprentice hoys, legally bound, named WILLIAM and AN IREW JOHNSON. The former is of a dark complexion, black hair, eyes, and habits. They are much of a height, about 5 feet 4 or 5 inches The latter is very fleshy freekled face, light hair, and fair complexion. They went off with two other apprentices, advertised by Messrs Wm. & Chas. Fowler When they went away, they were well clad—blue cloth coats, light colored homesoun coats, and new hats, the maker's name homespun coats, and new hats, the maker's name in the crown of the hats, is Theodore Clark. 1 will pay the above Reward to any person who will deliver said apprentices to me in Raleigh, or I will give the above Reward for Andrew John-

All persons are cautioned against harboring or employing said apprentices, on pain of being

JAMES J. SELBY, Tailor. Raleigh, N. C. June 24, 1824

onisburg F

Facsimile of the notice inserted in a newspaper when Andrew Johnson ran away.

## By J. G. de ROULHAC **HAMILTON**

#### PART I

IFTY years ago there passed from the American scene one of the most remarkable figures in the history of this country. Born in poverty and utter obscurity, denied every opportunity of early education, he rose by sheer ability and untiring determination, step by step, filling offices of greater and greater importance until finally he attained the highest of all—the Presidency of the United States.

His administration was one of bitter storm, and as a result he holds the additional and normally doubtful distinction of being the only President against whom articles of impeachment were brought—an indictment upon which he was acquitted by a margin of one vote, a margin, however, more narrow in appearance than in reality. Impeachment of high crimes and misdemeanors might be expected to carry with it disgrace, even if accompanied by acquittal, but such were the circumstances of this that it increased rather than lessened his later reputation. And as the years have passed, and political passions have

Fortune, indeed, did not attend his birth. Born December 29, 1808, he was the son of Jacob Johnson of Raleigh, North Carolina, whose rise in life had been so little that tavern hostler, sexton, and porter of the state bank represented the extreme height of his worldly position. And yet,

cooled, Andrew Johnson has slowly but surely found a large measure of vindication.

# When a Reward Was Offered for the Capture of Juture President

of the United States

humble as this station was-far more humble than it would have been elsewhere than in a slave state—he made an impress upon his community. He was a captain of the city watch. He had friends in every walk of life, who liked him because of his stanch character, his devotion to whatever task he undertook, and his sunny, human friendliness. He never knew what it meant to have an enemy.

When the boy was born, the wife of the tavern keeper, so it is said upon somewhat doubtful evidence, suggested that he be named Andrew Jackson. The father disliked long names but

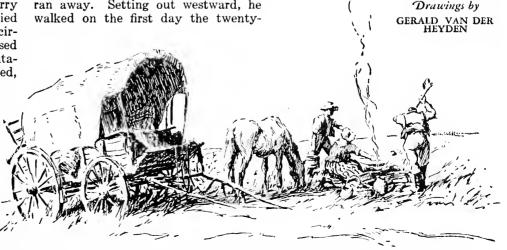
accepted Andrew.

When Andrew was four years old his father died, as a result of overexertion in saving two men from drowning. His family was left in complete poverty, and the boy learned, all too soon, to work for a living. He received no education, and as soon as he was old enough to learn a trade he was bound out, apprenticed to James J. Selby, a tailor, to whom his older brother. William, was already bound. Here he began to learn the trade which he followed until public service left him no time for it. The boy was full of life, a harum-scarum youngster.

At seventeen, with a companion he 'chunked' the house of a lady who had objected to their association with her two pretty daughters, and was detected. Andrew saw in this a proper occasion to leave, and, with his brother, ran away. Setting out westward, he eight miles which separated Raleigh from Chapel Hill, the seat of the state university. In the little village a kindly old couple gave him supper, bed, and breakfast, and the following day he resumed his journey. The very next time he saw Chapel Hill was forty-four years later when, as President of the United States, he attended commencement.

From Chapel Hill he went down into South Carolina, and, finding work at Laurens Court House, he remained there two years. Here according to current rumor he had a love affair which, hopeless from the beginning on account of the difference in his station and that of the lady in the case, served mightily to stimulate his ambition. In consequence he returned to make his peace with Mr. Selby, who had advertised a reward for his capture. He found that Mr. Selby had retired and left Raleigh. When Andy walked to Mr. Selby's new home twenty miles away, he readily got a release from the apprenticeship.

ANDY, as he was generally called, now determined to go to the West where a less rigid social and economic caste system would give him a chance to rise. Few men have ever set out to seek fortune and have won it with less equipment. Of education he had little. He could not write, but thanks to the kindness of William Hill, the secretary

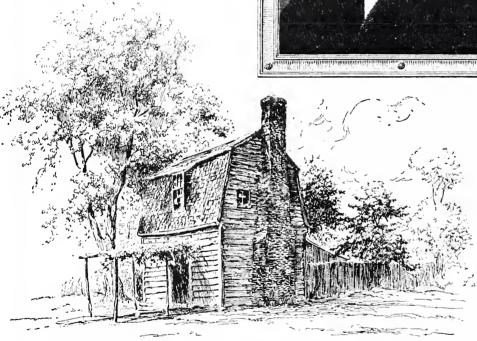


Andrew took with him as he set off to the West his mother and his step-father. A wagon drawn by a blind pony carried their few possessions.

of state of North Carolina, and to his own ambition, he could read. Mr. Hill was in the habit of going to Mr. Selby's shop and reading to the men at work from The American Speaker: A Selection of Popular Parliamentary and Forensic Eloquence.

Andy was so carried away by what he heard that he determined to learn to read for himself. With the aid of some of his fellow-workmen he learned his letters, then progressed to simple reading, and finally proudly asked Mr. Hill to lend him the book. The latter, highly pleased, presented him with it, and here was formed Andrew Johnson's taste in literature and political speaking. As an offset to his lack of education, then, the young fellow had a passion for knowledge and an ambition to rise.

He took with him as he set off to the West his mother and his stepfather. A wagon drawn by a blind pony carried them, and their few possessions. As for Andrew himself, 'a tailor's kit, his thimbles, and his needles were probably the sum total of his possessions.' In September, 1826, the little party his shop and read to him the history and biography for which he was mentally ravenous, and always she kept alive and stimulated the ambition which was to carry him so far forward. It is interesting to recall that their marriage ceremony was performed by



Andrew Johnson never forgot his lowly origin and rarely made a speech in which he did not allude to it, usually proudly and always somewhat defensively.

reached Greeneville, Tennessee, and here it was decided to stop. A little log cabin twelve feet square was rented for a shop. Andrew had found a home.

The new tailor shop was welcomed. Work came in and before long furnished a good living. Within a year he married Eliza McCardle, the daughter of a Scottish shoemaker, a woman of great beauty, fine native intellect, and splendid character, who proved to be for the rest of his life his greatest blessing. She had considerable education and she not only taught him to write, but directed his reading and studies generally. She would sit in

Squire Mordecai Lincoln, a near relative of Abraham Lincoln.

While Johnson kept busy at his trade, his mind was busy in other directions. Hearing that there was a debating society at a school some miles away, he obtained permission to join it and attended the meetings regularly. Later he organized one in Greeneville. His shop by now was a center for political discussion among the plain, laboring men of the town. Johnson, sitting cross-legged on his bench and plying his needle, was the moving spirit of the group and in time he became its leader and oracle. And this

group without his knowledge started him on the road to political fortune.

Prosperity came. He had to employ a number of assistants. He settled his mother and her husband on a farm in the country near Greeneville, and he bought a home. In 1831 he built the

best house in Greeneville. Four children were born to him and he found infinite joy in smoothing their way and giving them educational advantages.

Prosperity did not serve to separate him from the friends he had made in poverty. From first to last he was the advocate and representative of his class and was always at home with the plain people. Most selfmade men who have risen high politically in the United States have owed their advancement to the favor of the landed interests, to law, or to military glory.

Johnson had none of these to help him on. He is in this respect in striking contrast to Jackson and Lincoln, who also came from obscurity to the Presidency. Both of

them left the class from which they had sprung.

His political training began soon. In 1828 he was, without being a candidate, chosen an alderman of the town, and in 1830, mayor, serving in the latter capacity for three years. From 1835 to 1839 he was a member of the lower house of the Tennessee legislature. In 1840 he 'stumped' a large part of the state, winning many friends and gaining considerable reputation as a speaker. In 1841 he was sent to the state senate and in 1843 to the national House of Representatives, where he remained for ten years. In 1843 he definitely gave up his tailor shop.

In 1853 his district was 'gerry-mandered' to prevent his election to Congress. Instead of retiring from politics, he ran for governor, and in spite of the violent opposition of conservative and aristocratic interests, was elected. He was reëlected in 1855 for a second term.

These two campaigns gave him a taste of what political storms might be. He was savagely attacked by his opponents and in retaliation he turned upon them with such vigor and plain speaking that before long he was the aggressor and they were on the defensive. Presently they began to send challenges to duels (Continued on page 24)

## Reward for Future President's Capture

- (Continued from page 13) -

that their outraged feelings might be salved. To their horror, Johnson declined in every case to 'give the satisfaction customary among gentlemen,' not because he was afraid, but because he thought dueling was a foolish and wicked relic of barbarism. As a matter of fact, fear was left out of his entire make-up and he could say with entire truth, 'These two eyes never looked upon any being in the shape of mortal man that this heart of mine feared.

I PON one occasion he was warned that if he spoke at a scheduled meeting he would be killed. At the appointed time he took his place upon the stand and laying a pistol upon the desk said. 'I understand the first business before the meeting is shooting me. I move the meeting proceed to business.' Nothing happened and nobody moved. Johnson replaced the pistol, remarked with a smile, 'I have evidently been misinformed.'

and proceeded with his speech.

In his second campaign Tennessee was full of Know Nothing activity and sentiment and his opponent was a Know Nothing. Johnson made Know Nothingism the issue. He was a Protestant and not prejudiced in favor of the foreign-born, but he did not think religion should be a political issue, holding that to make it one was an offense against the most sacred of American principles. Also he detested the very idea of secret political societies. Intense as he was, Johnson was essentially tolerant and Know Nothingism meant to him political and religious intolerance. When the smoke of the campaign cleared away, Know Nothingism was no longer an issue in Tennessee. It was dead.

At the conclusion of his second term as governor, Johnson was elected to the United States Senate. By this time his character was fully formed and he had reached full mental stature. He had mature convictions upon public questions, based upon thoughtful consideration. Normally a Democrat, he never wore the yoke of a party, declining always to surrender his right of individual conviction and decision

to party considerations.

IN TENNESSEE he was a power. As a public speaker he was wonderfully effective and he swept his audiences. Thanks to the carefully prepared newspaper stories and false reports of his speeches during the stormy days of his Presidency, the American people then and since have been given an utterly false impression of him as a speaker. Far from being a buffoon who could not speak grammatically or make a point in an argument, he was the master of an unstudied but trenchant eloquence.

He had a superb voice, low and sympathetic, which carried without effort on his part and without being raised. He spoke calmly but with emphasis, assurance, and authority. His manner was quiet and easy and, as a rule, dignified. But he was a born fighter and never hesitated to engage in verbal tilts of a personal character with his opponents or auditors in which he was tremendously aggressive. He had, in his career before he became President, many political but scarcely any personal enmities.

Johnson never forgot his lowly origin

and rarely made a speech in which he did not allude to it, usually proudly and always somewhat defensively. This is character-

'Adam, the father of the race, was a tailor by trade, for he sewed fig-leaves to-gether for aprons. Tubal Cain was an artificer in brass and iron; Joseph the husband of Mary, the mother of Jesus, was a carpenter by trade, and the probability is strong that our Saviour Himself followed the same. The Apostle Paul was a tentmaker; Socrates, the distinguished Grecian philosopher, was a sculptor, but abandoned the fashioning and polishing of the stone for the purpose of cultivating and instructing the human mind. Archimedes. by the exercise of his skill in mechanics, made the enemy declare, when they attacked Syracuse, that he was a modern Jove hurling his thunderbolts upon them. King Crispin was a shoemaker, as was Roger Sherman, who helped to form the Constitution of the United States, and so was Daniel Sheffy of Virginia. General Greene, of Revolutionary fame, was a tinker, while General Morgan, his compatriot, was a blacksmith.'

IN APPEARANCE he was distinctly fine looking. He was of medium height, with broad shoulders and a compact figure which indicated great physical strength. He was erect and walked with an elastic step. His head was finely shaped, with an impressive forehead. He was dark-haired, dark-skinned, and dark-eyed, with almost



an Indian-like appearance. His eyes were small and deep-set, but keen and luminous. His expression was normally grave and at times severe, but his intimates were familiar with a rare, slow smile of considerable sweetness.

He was careful and neat in dress, and it is said that until the war he always made his own clothes. He wore regularly a black broadcloth coat and vest, black doeskin trousers and a silk hat, and regarded them as the proper garb of a statesman. While he was governor, so the story goes, he made a suit of clothes and sent it to another state official whom he had known years before as a blacksmith. The latter at once made a shovel and pair of tongs and sent them to the governor 'to keep alive the fires of early friendship.'

In Congress, particularly after he reached the Senate, Johnson was an important and

## The National Republic, Feb., 1928

Think of "seven" when you think of President Andrew Johnson. There are seven letters in Johnson. At fourteen—twice seven—he became a tailor's apprentice. He worked at that trade seven years, and quit it at twenty-one—three times seven. In the twenty-eighth year (four times seven) of 1828, he was alderman of Greenville, Tenn. In '42, six times seven, he was elected to Congress. In '49—seven times seven—he entered the U. S. Senate. On the seventh of March, 1862, he was appointed military governor of Tennessee. At the age of fifty-six—eight times seven—he became Vice President. He was the seventeenth President, and died in his sixty-seventh year, in the seventh month of the year 1875.

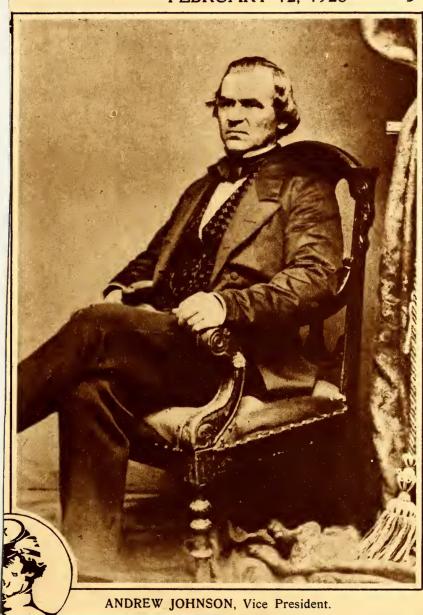
Tyler's first wife died in the White House. He married his second wife while

in the White House

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FEBRUARY 12, 1928

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## The President Who Failed

## By Clifford Raymond.

OBERT W. WINSTON has written a life of "Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot" (Henry Holt & Co.), a book which takes its place with the new American works of research and revaluation. This is a restoration period, in which men and events are being returned to their relation to each other and to their proper proportions. For Johnson it is belated justice.

He was one of those freighted characters who seem to contain in their success or failure the prospects of a social order, the control of a nation's direction, the shaping of its future. That great events can be hinged to swing with the fate of a person is seldom confirmed. Such a pivot seems too fragile.

We can hardly think of white civilization without the moral, ethical and spiritual equivalent of Christianity if there had been no Christianity. It does not seem possible that the United States would have remained a part of the British empire even if there had been a parliamentary majority to which the five intolerable acts were as Insufferable as they were to the port of Boston and Massachusetts Bay colony. Nor is it conceivable that slavery would now exist in North America if Breckinridge had been elected President instead of Lincoln. The accumulating experiences of men seem to indicate that events are controlled only as to time and methods. It is not that the Cæsars write only in water. It is that there will be a Cæsar when success is possible. These ideas are accepted as truisms, although particular reverence is given the personality of the achievers. We think of the American republic in terms of the personal character, accomplishment and success of Washington, Hamilton, Franklin, Jefferson, Marshall, Jackson, and Lincoln. It was derived from them.

It is not so apparent that we see where a personal success, a success of character, idea and action, might have led if it had prevailed against the forces which kept it from being a success.

In the case of Andrew Johnson there are suggested alternatives in national consequences of the civil war which would have been vastly different. Here it does seem that a man might have controlled events. In many ways Johnson is the most dramatic figure who ever brought his family into the White House. From the beginning to the end he is in the tragic mask. He is in the legend of the furies. He came in with assassination, the court-martial, and the hangman. He went out as a failure with the armies of the north returning to the south.

The man who prevailed is the strangest character who ever had power in the United States, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. A Negrophile, to whom by responsible historians is attributed an injunction in his will that he be buried in a Negro burial ground. Naturally the speculation that he was of Negro blood himself has been indulged in. He fixed a policy for a great nation, and that policy, with unknown and unknowable consequences, still faces it.

It was the triumph of Stevens in the house of representatives, backed in the schate by the Puritan doctrinaire of Massachusetts, Sumner. They downed Johnson. The slave had been made the freedman. He now became the voter. He had been property. Where he had been property he became the government. The north had been alarmed by the por-

tents of southern return to political power. It clamped this repression on. An axiom of war, before, during and after, should be to beware of the civilian. He is too impetuous a hater. Johnson couldn't hold him.

\* \*

Johnson, the uncouth, was extraordinary in many respects. He was the only consciously proletarian President of the United States. He was, in his own estimation, the "mechanic President." His trade was the tailor's. Lincoln as the rail splitter was a figure of speech. He was a professional man, a corporation lawyer. Jefferson as a Democrat was an idea. He was a landed gentleman, scholar, and social philosopher. Jackson was a frontier aristocrat, self-announced.

Johnson was a good deal of Jackson, but he was not an aristocrat. He toted his pistol, as Jackson did, but he was a mechanic. Consciously, with his tailor shop in Greeneville, Tenn., he represented the dignity and worth of manual work and skill, and particularly he represented it in a border slave state against the degrading competition of slave labor.

He was personally courageous in a region in which courage was required to take the position he did. He was crude. He learned to write after his marriage and his wife taught him. He won his political advancement up from small Tennessee political units to larger ones until he was the loyal senator from the state, and at Lincoln's request or insistence went back to it as military governor. He was elected Vice President. An assassin made him President.

One of the alternatives to the shot with which John Wilkes Booth killed Lincoln asks what would have happened to the great unionist if he had survived to carry out his ideas. There might have been a veneration which would have protected him from the infuriated civilians who took charge of the consequences of the war after the soldiers had called quits.

It wasn't Lincoln's idea in fighting the war that the Negroes should be more than released from slavery. What made Booth shoot him was a speculation in a speech, the last Lincoln made, that the black soldiers and more intelligent Negroes might or should be given franchise. He certainly had no idea of projecting the enfranchisement amendments to the constitution into the complex of American life. And Andrew Johnson tried to carry out his ideas, principally because he thoroughly sympathized with them.

Fate isn't honest, repute is not equitable, public comprehension and recollection are not intelligent. Here was one of the strong Presidents of the United States. What idea of him persists, if any does, is that of weakness in some fashion associated with guilt, come at the best to a Scotch verdict of not proved.

The enfranchisement of the Negro was not the purpose of the war, as fought by soldiers. The enfranchisement of the Negro was the success of the second war led by civilians. Lincoln and Grant won and Davis and Lee lost the first. Thad Stevens won and Andrew Johnson lost the second. The American electorate received the Negro as a voter in the view of the constitution.

Whatever might have been the outcome of this embarrassment of dissonant peoples in our day under the treatment Johnson would have given the tantalizing, mystifying incongruity of liberty where it doesn't exist, we know that treatment would not have been dogmatic and violent.

By the irony of event the forcibly enfranchised man of race, antecedents, tradition, and experience wholly outside the world in which he tried to conduct himself politically, has his principal political effect in the north which went beyond the terms of the war stipulations. The south is clear of the political problem, and the north is full of it. Andrew Johnson, the Greenville tailor, as President of the United States, would have deferred decision until decision could be wise. Here was an event of still unknown importance to the future of the United States which seemed to pivot on the personality, character, thought, action and success of a man—and was decided, for whatever its consequences, against him.

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# Andrew Johnson Paid for Loyalty to

Lincoln's Ideas Mew York Times Book Review June 2 1929

of the Man in Relation to Reconstruction Times

INDREW JOHNSON: A STUDY IN COURAGE. By Lloyd Paul Stryker. 881 pp. New York: Macmillan Company. \$6.

3yCHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON

PRIL 15, 1865, was a day of cheer and hope to the Republican leaders in Congress. President Lincoln had died at 7:22 that morning, and while, as Representative Julian of Indiana recorded, they were shocked that this obstacle had been removed from their path by a brutal murder, they felt that it was a providential occurrence. They held a caucus that afternoon, at which, Julian reports. "the feeling was nearly universal" that the change in the Presidency "would prove a godsend to the country."

This was because of Lincoln's "known policy of tenderness to the rehels." The Republican leaders, who had been at odds with Lincoln on that point for some time, were preparing for a desperate struggle with him in which he must surrender or see his second administration wrecked. Booth's pistol had saved him the trouble, and now their path was clear. At this caucus, a few hours after Lincoln's death, they resolved to move swiftly; in fact, Julian says, the caucus was held "for the purpose of considering the necessity for a new Cabinet." That is, for getting rid of Seward, Welles and others of Lincoln's advisers who agreed with his "known policy of tenderness to the rebels." Julian was prominent in Congress, and a few years before had been the anti-slavery candidate for Vice President.

That was on Saturday. On Sunday Senator Ben Wade of Ohio. speaking for a committee of Congress leaders who visited Lincoln's successor, said exultantly to the new President: "Johnson, we have faith in you." That same Sunday evening Senator Charles Sumner and his friends held a meeting at the office of Secretary of War Stanton at which plans were discussed for substituting their scheme of reconstruction for that of the dead Lincoln-dead about forty hours.

Instead of going along with them, the new President stood by his old chief. He devoted himself to carrying out the dead man's policy, and what the Congressmen would have done to Lincoln they did to

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Johnson. This story of black disgrace and heroic courage has never been told either so well or so fully and thoroughly as in Mr. Stryker's book. It is not merely a biography of Johnson; it is rather a complete portraval of the man in his relation to the times, a comprehensive study of that evil conspiracy to Robespierize the South and of the undaunted man who opposed his single sword to the revolutionists and suffered for it, as Lincoln would have suffered for doing the same thing if he had not heen spared by Booth's bullet.

To the end of his term Johnson fought to thwart the lust for vengeance on the men who had surrendered at Appomattox. He stood like a rock in the path of the Congressional cabal. In the main he failed, for they passed their bills over his steady vetoes and established the American Reign of Terror in the South. But in one respect he succeeded; never during those four wicked years was the power of the Executive Department at the command of the new revolutionists. Quite early he commenced to pay for his stand, for on Dec. 8, 1865, Sumner mailed to Welles a newspaper article demanding that Johnson be impeached and removed, with several extreme passages underscored. By 1868, after some unsuccessful efforts, the House did impeach him; the Senate tried him, and his acquittal was hy one vote.

The new revolutionists proposed to obliterate the Southern States. and to substitute for them a military government of the conquered country. This government was divided into five districts, each located on the site of some of the obliterated States and administered by soldiers. It was further their object to deprive nearly all the whites of the ballot and of their other legal rights, such as that of their practicing as lawyers or of performing their duties as clergymen. The negroes were to reign over them forever; and so far as this was accomplished, it was accomplished by the temporary paralysis of civilization.

"Sumner and Stevens," wrote General Sherman to his brother, after the conflict between Johnson and the Republican revolutionists had nearly reached the end of its first year, "would have made another civil war inevitably-the President's position saves us war save for words, and as I am a peace man I go for Johnson and the veto." Their attempt, indeed, might be called a war to continue war. Stevens's reconstruction hill, as finally passed in 1867, formally declared the States from Virginia to Arkansas to be "rehel States," almost two years after Lee had surrendered to Grant.

Against the Terrorists the indomitable Johnson-for the most part, in spite of a few bursts of anger,

the tranquil Johnson-set his fac of flint. Effort after effort wa made to impeach him, but the lead ers could not command enough o their followers to consummate tha atrocity. The prisons were rar sacked by Congressmen to fin perjurers who would swear tha Johnson had hired Booth to murde Lincoln; this in seeming oblivio to the fact that Booth's accon plices had heen hanged for plottin the murder of both Lincoln an Johnson, and that it would hav been rather humorous if Johnso had hired the assassin George A zerodt to kill Johnson himself.

At Johnson's council board sat spy, Secretary of War Stanton, wh

reported to his fellow-conspirator: in Congress and guided their moves Johnson was urged to dismiss him and Secretary of the Treasury Mc Culloch said that his refusal to do so was "a blunder for which there was no excuse." Finally, Congress, to prevent the President from ridding himself of this "steady spy" (McCulloch's words), passed a law forbidding any such action on his part without the consent of the Senate. The President declared it unconstitutional, and to settle the question of its constitutionality he removed Stanton, so that a test case could be made. Instead of making it, the House impeached him for breaking the law; and that was the main and only important charge in the articles of impeachment. Long after Johnson's death the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional, as Johnson had said it was:

One of the Republicans who refused to follow their leaders was Senator James W. Grimes of Iowa. He described the attempt to impeach Johnson as an effort "to establish an example which might result in making ours a sort of South American republic, where the ruler is deposed the moment popular sentiment sets against him." The plans of the conspirators, laid long before, were to oust the President and to install one of the chief plotters, Senator Wade, in the White House. Wade was ready to go any length to complete the ruin of the Southern States. The problem was how to make a President out of a Senator.

There was no Vice President, and there was then no law providing for the succession. The conspirators therefore elected Wade President pro tem, of the Senate, so as to give him a nominal title to the Vice Presidency, though in law no such thing was contemplated or provided for. When he was elected he said: "You know I am no parliamentarian." "Yes, they knew," comments Mr. Stryker grimly; "it was not a parliamentarian they were seeking." Wade subsequently sat as judge in the High Court of Impeachment and cast his vote to declare Johnson guilty, turn him out and make Wade President.

vote to convict, every sort of coercion and intimidation was used on these men, though they were no longer merely Senators but judges in the High Court of Impeachment. Senator Henderson of Missouri, bullied and threatened by the Missouri Congressmen, offered to resign: but it was not his resignation but his vote that was wanted. Senator Ross of Kansas, replying to the threats of influential Kansas politicians, "I have taken an oath to do impartial justice," received this telegraphic answer: "Kansas repudiates you as she does all perjurers and skunks." High were the hopes of Stevens, Sumner and Wade when, three days before the court voted, Senator Grimes was stricken with paralysis. But just as the vote was about to be taken on the crucial eleventh article, Grimes was borne through the excited crowds and lifted into his seat. "His coming on that day," says Mr. Stryker, "is one of America's unsung acts of heroism."

It is usual to emphasize the fact that Johnson (and the good repute of the United States too)-was saved by only one vote. The seven Republicans who dared and achieved obloquy and political ruin-and, in Ross's case, utter financial and social ruin-showed rare bravery. But if one of them had faltered there were others not quite so heroic who were ready to take his place. After his acquittal Johnson wrote to a

Until almost the last moment the

Republican leaders were sure of

victory. When they found that not

all the Republican Senators would

(Continued on Page 24) [incomplete]



Andrew Johnson. From the Painting by E. F. Andrews.

# ANDREW JOHNSON

A STUDY IN COURAGE

by

## LLOYD PAUL STRYKER

"The time has come when justice should be done to Andrew Johnson. Abraham Lincoln, had he lived, would have been crucified by the radicals in Congress. Andrew Johnson suffered that crucifixion for him."

Thus Mr. Stryker begins his introduction to his splendid biography in which he gives an amazing picture of one of the most momentous periods in the history of the United States.

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SAN FRANCISCO

The following review from the New York Times Book Review indicates the great importance of this book

## Loyalty to Lincoln's Ideas

(Continued from Page 3)

friend who had called it "a close shave," "It was not so close as most people think; for Senator Morgan of New York would have cast his vote against impeachment rather than to have seen Ben Wade succeed to the Presidential chair." Mr. Stryker adds the names of Senators Sprague of Rhode Island and Willey of West Virginia. Willey, who was a Methodist, was being bullied by Methodist ministers and not anxious to court the fate of Ross. Public feeling over the failure of the conspiracy ran so high that Senator Trumbull of Illinois was warned not to show himself on the streets of Chicago for fear of the lamppost. Ross died forty years later, poverty-stricken and outcast.

"Abraham Lincoln, had he lived," says Mr. Stryker, "would have been crucified by the radicals in Congress. Andrew Johnson suffered that fate for him." What sort of man was this Johnson? Charles Francis Adams, seeing him in 1861, wrote:

Mr. Johnson's manners were quiet, gentle, though slightly formal. He has a deep black eye, and with his somewhat neat black clothes and clean-shaven face looks physically and intellectually like a strong man. \* \* \* The great thing about the man is evidently his nerve—his apparent force and coolness in a position of danger.

It is not hard to understand why

A BOOK THAT

REMAKES

HISTORY

George Atzerodt, who had been assigned by Booth to kill Johnson while he was killing Lincoln. went to Johnson's hotel with his gun, looked Johnson over, and then thought better of it. This was the same Johnson who, when there was every likelihood that he would be shot if he tried to take office as Governor of Tennessee, had refused the offer of his friends to form a bodyguard for him. "No," he said, "if I am to be shot at, I want no man to be in the way of the bullet"; and he walked alone, and slowly.

It is an extraordinary book that Mr. Stryker has written. It tells the whole story thoroughly for the first time, for it is much more than a biography. His research is prodigious, the ground covered is vast, and the results he achieves are

"May God bless this people and God save the constitution."

WITH THESE WORDS ANDREW JOHNSON ENDED HIS LAST SPEECH IN THE SENATE TO WHICH HE HAD BEEN ELECTED AFTER HIS FOUR YEARS AS PRESIDENT. THROUGHOUT HIS LONG CAREER HE FOUGHT WITH UNDAUNTED COURAGE FOR OUR RIGHTS AS GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION.

T was some years ago during a visit to Tennessee that Mr. Stryker became interested in Andrew Johnson. Desiring to learn more about this unknown President he tried to purchase a biography of him, but found that the only one which had been published was out of print. He then decided to write the book which would present to the world a true picture of the man who had fought so courageously for right only to pass to posterity with his memory shrouded with shame.

Every available source of information concerning Andrew Johnson was consulted by Mr. Stryker. Books, memoirs, diaries, newspapers of the period were consulted. In Greensville, Tennessee, he met Johnson's grandson, Andrew Johnson Patterson, who had been in the White House during the Impeachment trial. He also found that Andrew Johnson's private secretary, Colonel E. C. Reeves, was still living. Many facts and suggestions were obtained from him. At his request, Mr. Stryker has included as an Appendix to his books an article entitled "The Real Andrew Johnson" which Colonel Reeves prepared as a reply to a recent attack on Johnson. It is a valuable first-hand historical document.

Mr. Stryker's years as a practicing lawyer in New York, added to his ability as a writer, have given him special qualification for writing this "important contribution to American political history."

# - ANDREW JOHNSON ~

Price \$6.00

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# Andrew Johnson Paid for Loyalty to Lincoln's Ideas

Mr. Stryker's Biography Is a Complete Portrayal of the Man in Relation to Reconstruction Times

By CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON PRIL 15, 1865, was a day of cheer and hope to the Republican leaders in Congress. President Lincoln had died

at 7:22 that morning, and while, as Representative Junah of Indiana recorded, they were shocked that this obstacle had been removed from their path by a brutal murder, they felt that it was a providential occurrence. They held a caucus that afternoon, at which, Julian reports, "the feeling was nearly universal" that the change in the Presidency

would prove a godsend to the country.

This was because of Lincoln's "known policy of tenderness to the The Republican leaders, who had been at odds with Lincoln on that point for some time, were preparing for a desperate struggle with him in which he must surrender or see his second administration wrecked. Booth's pistol had saved him the trouble, and now their path was clear. At this caucus, a few hours after Lincoln's death, they resolved to move swiftly; in fact, Julian says, the caucus was held "for the purpose of considering the necessity for a new Cabinet." That is, for getting rid of Seward, Welles and others of Lincoln's advisers who agreed with his "known policy of tenderness to the rebels." Julian was prominent in Congress, and a few years before had been the anti-slavery candidate for Vice President.

That was on Saturday. On Sunday Senator Ben Wade of Ohio, speaking for a committee of Congress leaders who visited Lincoln's successor, said exultantly to the new President: "Johnson, we have faith in you." That same Sunday evening Senator Charles Sumner and his friends held a meeting at the office of Secretary of War Stanton at which plans were discussed for substituting their scheme of reconstruction for that of the dead Lincoln-dead about forty hours

Instead of going along with them, the new President stood by his old chief. He devoted himself to carrying out the dead man's policy, and what the Congressmen would have done to Lincoln they did to Johnson. This story of black dlsgrace and heroic courage has never been told either so well or so fully and thoroughly as in Mr. Stryker's book. It is not merely a blography of Johnson; it is rather a complete portrayal of the man in his relation

to the times, a comprehensive study of that evil conspiracy to Robe spierize the South and of the undaunted man who opposed his single sword to the revolutionists and suffered for it, as Lincoln would have suffered for doing the same thing if he had not been spared by Booth's bullet.

To the end of his term Johnson fought to thwart the lust for vengeance on the men who had surrendered at Appomattox. He stood like a rock in the path of the Congressional cabal. In the main he failed, for they passed their bills over his steady vetoes and established the American Relgn of Terror in the South. But in one respect he succeeded; never during those four wicked years was the power of the Executive Department at the command of the new revolutionists. Quite early he commenced to pay for his stand, for on Dec. 8, 1865, Sumner mailed to Welles a newspaper article demanding that Johnson be impeached and removed, with several extreme passages underscored. By 1868, after some unsuccessful efforts, the House did impeach him: the Senate

tried him, and his acquittal was by one vote. The new revolutionists proposed to obliterate the Southern States,

vided into five districts, each located on the site of some of the obliterated States and administered by soldiers. It was further their object to deprive nearly all the whites of the ballot and of their other legal rights, such as that of their practicing as lawyers or of performing their duties as clergymen. The negroes were to reign over them forever; and so far as this was accomplished, it was accomplished by the temporary paralysis of civilization,

ANDREW JOHNSON: A STUDY and to substitute for them a mili-IN COURAGE. By Lloyd Paul tary government of the conquered and the Republican revolutionists of flint. Effort after the confict between Johnson the tranquil Johnson—set his face reported to his fellow-conspirators of flint. Effort after the conflict between Johnson of flint. Effort after the confict between Johnson in Congress and guided their moves. Stryker, 881 pp. New York: Mac-millan Company, \$6. first year, "would have made another civil war inevitably—the their followers to consummate that Culloch said that his refusal to do President's position saves us war atrochy. The prisons were ransave for words, and as I am a sacked by Congressmen to find was no excuse." Finally, Conpeace man I go for Johnson and the perjurers who would swear that gress, to prevent the President veto." Their attempt, indeed, might Johnson had hired Booth to murder from ridding himself of this "steady be called a war to continue war. Lincoln; this in seeming oblivion Stevens's reconstruction bill, as finally passed in 1867, formally declared the States from Virginia to Arkansas to be "rebel States," almost two years after Lee had surrendered to Grant.

Against the Terrorists the indom-"Sumner and Stevens," wrote itable Johnson-for the most part,

made to impeach him, but the lead. Johnson was urged to dismiss him, era could not command enough of and Secretary of the Treasury Mcto the fact that Booth's accomplices had been hanged for plotting the murder of both Lincoln and Johnson, and that it would have been rather humorous if Johnson had hired the assassin George Atzerodt to kill Johnson himself.

At Johnson's council board sat a General Sherman to his brother, af- in spite of a few bursts of anger, spy, Secretary of War Stanton, who

> ment. Long after Johnson's death the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional, as Johnson had One of the Republicans who refused to follow their leaders was Senator James W. Grimes of Iowa. He described the attempt to impeach Johnson as an effort "to establish an example which might result in making ours a sort of South mmerican republic, where the ruler is deposed the moment popular sentiment sets against him." The plans of the conspirators, laid long before, were to oust the President and to install one of the chief plotters, Senator Wade, in the White House. Wade was ready to go any length to complete the ruin of the Southern States. The problem was how to make a President out of a There was no Vice President, and there was then no law providing for the succession. The conspirators therefore elected Wade President pro tem. of the Senate, so as to give him a nominal title to the Vice Presidency, though in law no such thing was contemplated or provided for. When he was elected he

spy" (McCulloch's words), passed a

law forbldding any such action on

his part without the consent of the

Senate. The President declared it

unconstitutional, and to settle the

question of its constitutionality he

removed Stanton, so that a test

case could be made. Instead of

making it, the House impeached

him for breaking the law; and that

was the main and only important charge in the articles of impeach-

declare Johnson guilty, turn him out and make Wade President. Until almost the last moment the Republican leaders were sure of victory. When they found that not all the Republican Senators would vote to convict, every sort of coercion and intimidation was used on these men, though they were no longer merely Senators but judges in the High Court of Impeachment. Senator Henderson of Missouri, bullied and threatened by the Missouri Congressmen, offered to resign; but it was not his resignation but his vote that was wanted. Senator Ross of Kansas, replying to the threats of influential Kansas politicians, "I have taken an oath to do impartial justice," received this telegraphic answer: "Kansas repudiates you as she does all perjurers and skunks."

said: "You know I am no parlia-

mentarian." "Yes, they knew,"

comments Mr. Stryker grimly; "it

was not a parliamentarian they

were seeking." Wade subsequently

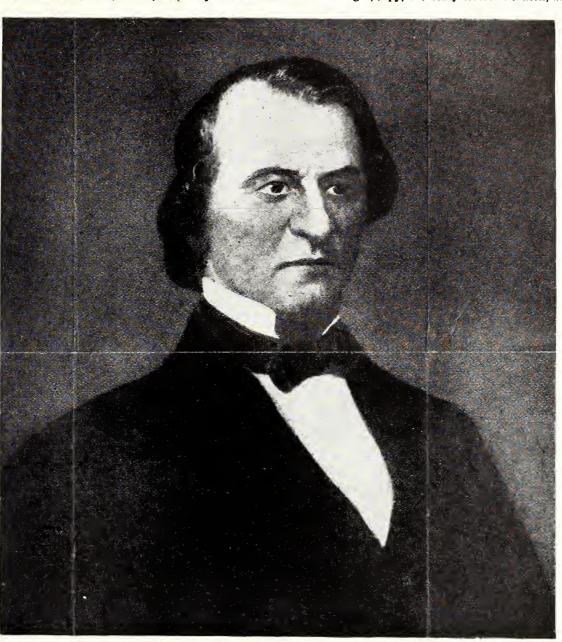
sat as judge in the High Court of

Impeachment and cast his vote to

High were the hopes of Stevens, Sumner and Wade when, three days before the court voted. Senator Grimes was stricken with paralysis. But just as the vote was about to be taken on the crucial eleventh article, Grimes was borne through the excited crowds and lifted into his seat. "His coming on that day," says Mr. Stryker, "is one of America's unsung acts of heroism." It is usual to emphasize the fact

that Johnson (and the good repute of the United States too)-was saved by only one vote. The seven Republicans who dared and achieve obloquy and political ruin-and, in Ross's case, utter financial and social ruin-showed rare bravery. But if one of them had faltered there were others not quite so heroic who were ready to take his place. After his acquittal Johnson wrote to a

(Continued on Page 24)



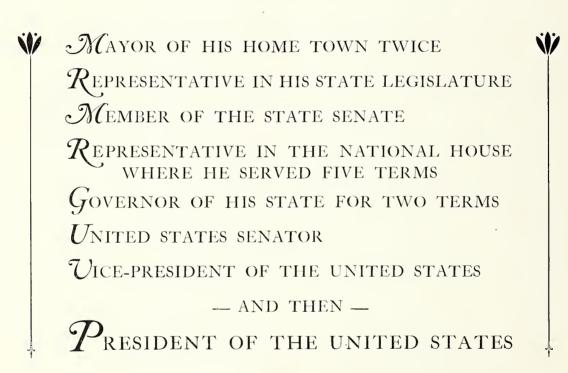
Andrew Johnson From the Painting by E. F. Andrews.

HIRTY/TWO FULL/PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS IN A HALF-TONE ARE INCLUDED IN THIS FASCI-NATING WORK. AMONG THEM ARE PICTURES OF JOHNSON, LINCOLN, STANTON, SUMNER, GIDEON WELLES, SEWARD, GRANT, JEFFERSON DAVIS, HORACE GREELY, AND OTHER NOTABLES OF THE PERIOD; OF SCENES DURING THE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL, OF STAN-TON HOLDING POSSESSION OF THE WAR OFFICE AFTER HIS DISMISSAL; OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S VISIT TO THE BOOK IS EXHAUSTIVELY DOCU-NEW YORK. MENTED AND AN EXTENSIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX ARE INCLUDED.

> For more than eight hundred pages one is held in amazement as this extraordinary panorama of the reconstruction period is unrolled before him.

"The evil that men do lives after them The good is oft interred with their bones"

So said Mark Antony of Caesar and this has been true of many famous men of history. Particularly has it fitted the case of one great American. Self-taught he rose from obscurity to be



BUT his enemies succeeded in clouding his name so that only now after more than fifty years are his true qualities and his splendid contributions to our country's welfare becoming known. His cause is valiantly championed in a new book.

# ANDREW JOHNSON—The Rail-Splitter's Running Mate

Jensen Andrew Johnson, military governor of Tennessee, with headquarters at Nashville, received the message that he had been nominated for Vice President of the United States on a ticket with Abraham Lincoln at the National Union Convention at Baltimore in June, 1864, he remarked with cynical humor:

"What will the aristocrats do with a railsplitter for President and a tailor for Vice President?"

This is the key to the psychology of Johnson—his scorn for those he termed aristocrats.

In the historical museum of the State of Tennessee is a faultlessly assembled black broadcloth coat made by Andrew Johnson when he was governor of Tennessee, in 1853, for his friend Judge W. W. Pepper, of Springfield, Tennessee. It is the only coat ever made by a governor of his state who was also Vice President and President of the United States. It is a most remarkable exhibit, illustrating the

po'or boy's chance to rise in America from poverty and obscurity to greatness and honor.

This coat fits both the Rail-Splitter and the Tailor, as it has many other great Americans. Today history is repeating it; the President of the United States today has already acclaimed the same beneficent possibilities in the great country of his birth.

## Gifts of the Heart and Hand

IT SEEMS that Judge Pepper had been a blacksmith be-fore studying law and being later elevated to the circuit bench. When his friend Andrew Johnson was elected governor of Tennessee, Judge Pepper went into a near-by blacksmith shop, selected iron to his own liking, and with forge and hammer made a substantial pair of shovel and tongs for his friend's gubernatorial fireplace. Not to be behind in courtesy, Governor Johnson got a tailor to give him Pepper's measurements, selected the best piece of black broadcloth in town, and sat cross-legged on the governor's table in the state capitol behind closed doors at night till he finished the garment. His letter to Judge Pepper, covering two long pages, is typical: He reminded his friend that he was "a mechanic, a plebeian mechanic, and not ashamed or afraid to own it, in or out of office,' He cited a list of great artisans and mechanics "from Adam and Tubal-Cain down to the present time," and showed how much more praiseworthy they were than those "who have no merit of their own and rely on those who have gone before, preferring empty shadows where all merit has run out or ends . . . leaving themselves to be reproached by being likened to the potato plant, the best part of which is always underground."

Andrew Johnson's pride in proclaiming that he was a plebeian is only equaled by his contempt for the class he called the aristocrats.

Environment wields the heaviest mallet that hammers out the statues of our souls. A slave-bound boy for six years to a journeying tailor, holding horses of the rich for a silver tip, chained from morn till night to a table and a pair of shears, with no chance for play or school while

By John Trotwood Moore



The Old Tailor Shop of Andrew Johnson, at Greeneville, Tennessee

he saw other boys playing or idling all around him—this shackling environment struck deeply into every seam of his life.

There are only four kinds of office that may be attained by a citizen under the Constitution of the United States legislative, judicial, military and executive.

Andrew Johnson is the only man in American history who attained to all these and was both Vice President and President of the United States. Since he never went to

school a day in his life, there must have been ability, talent, courage, integrity and statesmanship of the highest order to have reached this mark. Surely no ordinary "ignorant and uncouth demagogue," as some of his enemies called him, ever could have attained by chance or accident such a record as this.

Though mythhood has claimed many of our heroes, some of them have escaped. Their rugged earthiness has held them among us. Their varied lines of strenuous achievements have so nearly filled the imagination of men while they lived, that, dead, there is nothing left to hang a myth upon. Old Israel Putnam, Mollie Pitcher, John

Paul Jones, George Rogers Clark, Andrew Jackson, U. S. Grant, Stonewall Jackson, Farragut, Forrest—these live today as when they died, with no glamour of mythiness over them.

Imagine the potentiality of the influence of mythhood, when today, it is said, there is a movement on foot to erect a monument in Missouri to Jesse James. This mythhood sometimes works in awful reverse—an inconsidered act, a chance word, an accident, even a phrase, and it is fixed!

It was so with Andrew Johnson, seventeenth President of the United States, more trusted and relied upon by Lincoln than any other member of his official family, and who, next to his great chief, did more to preserve the Union than any other civil official of his day.

#### A Bad Slip

NO MAN has a right to judge Andy Johnson in any respect who has not suffered as much and done as much for the nation," said Lincoln in 1864. And when they told him that Andrew Johnson was drunk when he was sworn in on March 4, 1865, as Vice President of the United States, the kindly Lincoln said with emphasis: "Don't you bother about Andy's drinking. He made a bad slip the other day, but I've known Andy Johnson a great many years and he's no drunkard." Yet half those who have heard of him believe he was a drunkard who disgraced his seat in the White House. And half the

others still believe that he was a Republican elected with Lincoln and betrayed his party. They will scarcely now believe the truth—that he was not even a habitual drinker, that he was not a Republican but was a Democrat, elected with Lincoln on a war ticket of both parties known as the National Union Party, and that instead of betraying his party, he stood impeachment, ostracism and ruin rather than betray his own and Lincoln's principles.

Andy—that is the term of endearment that the great Emancipator loved to call him, and that

is the term the people of Tennessee love to use to honor and revere his memory today.

Drunk, impeachment—these are the two awful and unjust reversals we must face in gauging Andrew Johnson's place in history. Let us settle the first error right here. It was, indeed, a cruel prank of Fate that monkey-wrenched the cog of his destiny the day Andrew Johnson was inaugurated Vice President of the United States and gave his political enemies their chance to magnify this "slip," as Lincoln termed it, before the world.

The Vice President was not drunk. He was never drunk in his life, as his record, public and private, and the evidence of men and women still living who knew him in his home town and state, will testify. Parson Brownlow, courageous, fanatic and honest, Johnson's bitterest and most vindictive Whig opponent in the

old days, and who rose at last to the senatorship of Tennessee on Johnson's impeachment, said of him in the scandal following the vice-presidential scene: "I have never failed to denounce Andrew Johnson, but I never charged him with being a drunkard. In fact, nobody in Tennessee ever regarded him as being addicted to the excessive use of whicky."

It happened this way: When the last week of February, 1865, came to Andrew Johnson, elected in the preceding



Mrs. Andrew Johnson



a day but his life was in grave jeopardy. No soldier on the firing line ever risked more than he. Three times the city was attacked. If captured, he would have been shot without prayers.

Johnson, at the beginning of the war, as United States senator, was in a war-proof seat in Washington. He might have stayed there and thundered only with oratory, as so many others did. Lincoln, realizing his courage and his fitness for the perilous post, importuned him to act as military governor of Tennessee. This he did. But in February, 1865, he was a worn, broken, and now a very ill man from three years of it-flu, perhaps, now; almost pneumonia then. His physicians told him that to go to Washington for this inauguration would doubtless be fatal. Johnson wrote Lincoln, stating his condition and asking that the oath be administered to him in Nashville. Lincoln wired him to come on if humanly possible. Lincoln's wire was almost a command. He left his sick bed, risking his life to make the long journey of three or four days to the national capital. The one preventive of pneumonia in that day was

whisky. Johnson's physicians kept him stimulated with it during the long journey. There, on that memorable cold day of March 4, 1865memorable in that Lincoln uttered his last message of "malice toward none; with charity for all"-they bundled his sick running mate off to the Capitol in a closed carriage with Hannibal Hamlin, the outgoing Vice President. He had taken no stimulant when he had left his rooms at the old Kirkwood Hotel, and complained on the way, to Hamlin, of feeling faint and that he feared he would be very ill and not able to speak.

### Forgiveness

THE outgoing Vice President, so the story goes, happened to have his flask with him, and John-

son, not knowing it was 100 per cent French brandy, gauged it to the standard of his own 60 per cent mountain dew, which he, like nearly every public man of his day, knew so well how to handle. Not knowing this, when Johnson arrived in the Vice President's room, still complaining of being ill, John W. Forney, secretary of the Senate, went personally to the bar and brought him a tumblerful of the same deadly French brandy and "was amazed and aghast" to see Johnson toss off the full tumbler as if

it were water! When he arose to accept his office, it was noticed that he had no manuscript in his hand and in a short time it was seen from his speech that he was overstimulated-not so greatly that his speech did not at last ring true to his many others that had carried him from his tailor shop to the presidency. His greatest offense appears to have been directed at the gold-braided diplomats in the gallery, when he reminded them with becoming earnestness that they were as naught-uniform, gold braids and all—compared to the plain people of the

It has been smiled off by the world since then, but not among his constituents in Tennessee. To them

we can never forgive Andy's lack of judgment an raisin in mixin' their furrin licker with hisn."

Johnson, it is true, drank—as did practically all public men of his day—and sometimes too freely. The war years of 1860–1865 were especially prolific of overindulgence. Men facing death and the brutal hardships of war have always used whisky to disillusion, in part, its horrors, and brace them for the conflict. Recognizing this, when serious complaint was made to Lincoln that General Grant was drunk at Shiloh, the President turned it off by asking for the brand of liquor that Grant used—he wished to recommend it, he said, to some of his other generals!

The life lines of Johnson and Lincoln are strangely paralleled. Lincoln's father, Thomas, was "a thriftless farmer," perhaps, but he was a handy man at most any kind of manual labor. Johnson's father, Jacob, was porter at old Casso's Inn at Raleigh, North Carolina, sexton for the church and porter in Colonel William Polk's bank. He was the one reliable handy man in the

little town, and "having the requisites of vigor, docility and fidelity, he was the best-loved person in town," according to one of the state's most eminent historians.

Both Mary McDonough and Nancy Hanks were women of great good sense, turning a willing, hefty hand to any kind of work, including weaving and spinning. Mary McDonough was a woman of all work at the inn and also did the washing for some of the gentry.

There was little schooling for either Lincoln or Johnson. They taught themselves from books, from men and the world. Johnson's greatest good luck was marrying Eliza McCardle, at nineteen. It is interesting to note that Mordecai Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln's

kinsman, tied the knot. It was she who taught him to write, directed and guided his reading. His devotion to her in their long life is his one minor chord of tenderness and romance

Both Lincoln and Johnson left home early and became citizens of newer states. Both fought their way to honors and fame by sheer courage, character and intellect. But Johnson won his in a harder field. Lincoln left slavery and its aristocracy for the only environment in which he could



ROM AN ENGRAVING BY H. B. HALL, JR. COURTESY OF D. APPLE Andrew Johns

have won—a free state. Had he rer would have been a country lawyer judge or congressman, and if he h assuredly would have owned a few

Johnson's rise is the more remark plebeianship on every hand, he won and the aristocrats, and from the b prentice became their leader. Toget Union through a war that at times Both were martyrs—Lincoln, for martyr to Lincoln.

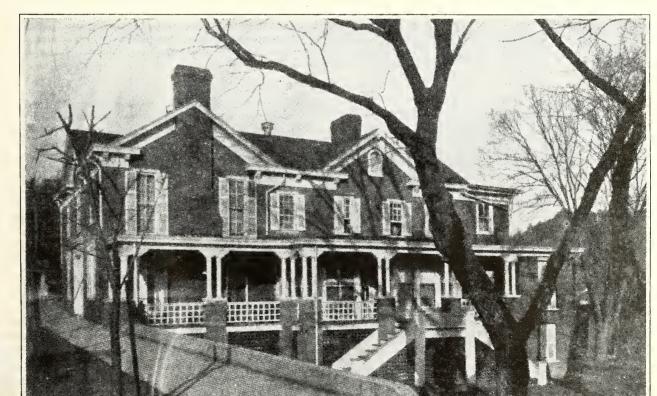
They are the two colossal politic est crisis in American history.

### Naming the Neu

ACCORDING to tradition a dance old Casso Inn that Christmas word was brought that the beloved prolly Johnson, had given another her fiddling ceased and all the pretty g day to see their own babies, rushed cottage to see it. The innkeeper's day



Mrs. Martha Johnson Patterson



what is greater, he did more than his share to preserve it.

One of the pleasures of the faithful and gentle-hearted Jacob was to go with the gentry on their fishing, hunting and drinking trips, cook for them, cut bait, keep camp and bring them safely home when they were too drunk to drive. When Andy was five years old the faithful Anchises lost his life saving two of his hilarious friends from drowning, at Hunter's old mill, near the town of Raleigh. There were three in the boat—all drunk. One perpetrated the ancient joke which may easily be traced to the first Neanderthal man's use of a burnt-out log to see if it would float on the river. The two who could not swim, frantically embraced, and both sank to the bottom. Johnson dived into the ice-cold water, brought them up and by superhuman efforts got them to land. He died from exhaustion and pneumonia a few days later.

It was hard sailing for the Widow Johnson after that. She bound out both her boys to tailors. She took in washing and did more cooking and housecleaning. After serving six of his eight years, Andrew ran away. Later he returned, settled with the tailor, put his mother, her second husband and her belongings all in one one-horse wagon and struck out for the new state of Tennessee through the gap of the Cumberland, and down the same little river-valley trail that Andrew Jackson had blazed in 1788 and James K. Polk had followed in 1811.

In a tailor shop he began a political career that has no parallel in history—the most remarkable tailor shop in the world, since it is the only one in history which served as tailor shop, primary school and an academy for those seeking learning, a library, a debating society and a general symposium of all the village knowledge, civil, political and It is the only tailor shop that ever produced a President of the United States. Johnson was the soul and center of it, burning with a thirst for knowledge.

### A Vanquished Heckler

The forgatherers with him ran all the way from carpenter, bricklayer, blacksmith and farmer to the cultured school-teacher and briefless young lawyer-everything but wealth, everybody but the aristocrats. Often, as he sat cross-legged on his table, plying needle and thread, he paid his visitors fifty cents a morning to read history and biography to him. At home his wife read while he sewed. He easily led in the debating society. It astonished them how surely and naturally this tailor could unhorse all others in debates. He would spend weeks gathering his facts and then drive them home with vigor, force and logic that were unassailable. Two-edged phrases, similes that painted, and metaphors that fixed the picture, flowed from his lips as naturally as water from his mountain springs. In a bitter attack on Johnson in the Senate. March 2, 1860, when every Southern sen-ator but Johnson had left, and he alone stood and made his epoch-making speech for the Union, Senator Lane, of Oregon, recently defeated vice-presidential candidate with Breckenridge, spoke of Johnson's "triumphant ignorance and exulting stupidity.'

Whatever may be the character of my mind," replied the sturdy commoner in the insinuating, musical voice that he had trained to carry so far and liquidly to his audiences in the deep hollows of his mountain home, "I have never obtrusively made it the object of consideration. I may, nevertheless, have exhibited now and then the exulting stupidity and triumphant ignorance of which the senator has spoken. Great and magnanimous minds pity ignorance. The senator from Oregon, rich in intellectual culture, with a mind comprehensive enough to retain the wisdom of ages and an eloquence to charm a literary Senate, deplores mine; but he should also be considerate enough to regard my humility. Unpretending in my ignorance, I am content to gaze at his lofty heights and glorious daring without aspiring to accompany him to regions for which my wings have not been plumed nor my eyes fitted. Gorgeously bright are those fair fields in which he revels. To me, alas, his heaven appears as but murky regions, dull, opaque, leaden. My pretensions have been simply to do my duty to my state and my country.

Pitt's famous reply to Walpole, beginning, "The atrocious crime of being a young man," has nothing on Johnson's opening paragraph for classical sarcasm.

All his life he took punishment like a pit bull. But when he struck, he held, and when his jaws closed, there was soon no breath left in the throat of his opponent. He gloried in giving and taking. He welcomed heckling. "Sit down! You are comed heckling. "Sit down! You are nothing but a tailor," shouted a heckler, rising and shaking his fist at Johnson as he spoke to a vast crowd on the public square at Nashville in his race for governor.

### Taking a Hand in Politics

"Yes, my friend," said Johnson, leaning over the platform and speaking with unctuous benignity, "I am a tailor, but I am a good tailor, and no customer of mine ever could have ripped the seat of his pants out and made indecent exposure of himself as you have been doing today."

The laughter that followed drove the

heckler from the scene.

Sometimes it was the other way, as in his debate with Gustavus A. Henry, the socalled Eagle Orator, in his race for governor of Tennessee in 1853. Johnson, snarling at this eagle phrase, said: "The Eagle Orator, indeed! Why, fellow citizens, this is the fifth time I've met the Eagle in the pit and I see no blood on his beak.'

"The proud eagle never feeds on carrion," came bitterly back from the already

whipped Henry.

Johnson took this shaft in the neck smiling, while the Whigs howled. But he swept the Eagle off the boards in the race. "The harder you hit him," the Eagle explained afterward, "the surer he is to rise."

Johnson never got over this stump-oratory trick of silencing hecklers. It caused some of his trouble while President. He never seemed to realize, after he became President, that a hand grenade from the grand stand was not necessary to demolish the egg thrower from the crowd. In his epoch-making swing around the circle in the summer of 1866, accompanied by General Grant, Admiral Farragut, some members of his cabinet, and other distinguished men and women, in a more or less triumphant journey from Washington through Baltimore, Chicago, and in a circle taking in St. Louis and Philadelphia, he was constantly caught in a heckler's trap. Some of his bitter reply shafts were made articles in his impeachment, but dropped.

Before the tailor arrived in Greeneville, in 1826, the little town had been run by the

wealthy and the aristocrats.

"Why can't we mechanics have a hand in it?" the tailor asked. They elected him alderman, then mayor. Things needed attention at the state capital. They sent him to the House, to the Senate, There the stubbornness of his Democracy was written in the incident that caused more talk and bitterness in state politics than had ever been heard or felt before. He led a revolt against the Whigs that deprived the state of any senatorial representatives in Washington for two years.

Thomas Corwin, brilliant Kentucky wit, Governor of Ohio 1840-42, who hated Jackson, rocked Congress with laughter in his tribute to his old foe after his death: 'I'll say this for him, Mr. Speaker: He beat everything that ever went up against him—he beat the Creeks, he beat the British, he beat Dickinson, he beat Webster,

he beat Clay, he beat Calhoun, he beat the bank, and in his old age he joined the church and beat the devil! Can you beat that?

It was true of his namesake; Johnson beat everyone who went up against him. For ten years he held his old First District in Congress against the ablest of Whig ora-

During the campaign for Congress in 1845, the report was circulated that Johnson was the illegitimate son of the Chief Justice of North Carolina.

Andrew Johnson had taken the shafts of his enemies all his life, but like the eagle of his own aerie, with his own beak he had plucked them out. This one struck and embittered him in after life even as a similar false slander made sad, in secret, the heart of Lincoln, that other man of sorrow. But unlike Lincoln, Johnson fought back. He went to Raleigh and thoroughly disproved the slander. With affidavits by the hundred from good people still living, he proved the falseness of it. "As for my religion," he "it is the doctrine of the Bible, as taught and practiced by Jesus Christ.

After Johnson's death, in 1875, there was found among his papers this statement in his handwriting, written when he was stricken with cholera in 1873, now framed and hung in the library of his home. Cholera had swept the state before and had taken off James K. Polk in 1849.

All seems gloom and despair. I have performed my duty to my God, my country and my family. I have nothing to fear. Approaching death to me is the mere shadow of God's protecting wing. Beneath it I feel almost sacred. Here I know no evil can come; there I will rest in quiet and peace, beyond the reach of calumny's poisoned shaft, the influence of envy and jealous enemies, where treason and traitors in state, backsliders and hypocrites in church, can have no place; where the great fact will be realized that God is truth, and gratitude is the highest attribute of man.

In Congress, Johnson worked in and out of session for the passage of a bill that today is his greatest monument—the Homestead Act. This act opened up the vast, unsettled areas of the West, granting 160 acres of land as a homestead to those who would settle on it, hold and improve it. It was a free-soil gesture and against slavery, though Johnson owned a few slaves. It probably cost Johnson the Democratic nomination for President at the adjourned Baltimore convention of 1860, when Breckenridge and Lane were nominated.

### Still the Proud Plebeian

They could not beat him for Congress, so they gerrymandered his district into a Whig stronghold and forced him to run for governor. It was a fatal trick for those who did it. For twenty years, 1836 to 1856, the Whigs had carried the state in spite of the old chief at the Hermitage. In 1839, James K. Polk nosed in as governor and then was beaten when he asked for a second term. He failed to carry his state when he ran for President in 1844, although he beat Clay for the presidency.

Johnson came in, and when he finished with them, the Whigs held no first offices in the state again. He was pitted in the race against the unbeatable Gustavus A. Henry, the so-called Eagle Orator. When elected, the tailor governor refused to ride to the capitol in the carriage with the outgoing Whig aristocrat. Instead, like Jackson, he went at the head of his own mob of common people.

In 1854 it was Gentry's turn—Gentry, next to Clay, the most brilliant of all Whig orators and known as "the silver-tongued." In those romantic days of chivalry and knightly tournaments, barbecues and Scott's novels everything was golden or silvery, magnolia and magic. It is a question if Scott's novels did not cause the Civil War!

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### (Continued from Page 162)

It was the year of the Know-Nothings in America, as they called themselves. They opposed foreigners, Catholics and Masons. Intolerance of this type maddened Johnson until he almost lost his poise. 'Show me a Know-Nothing," he thundered to a crowd before him which he knew was full of them, "and I will show you a loathsome reptile on whose neck any honest man should set his feet. Such a gang is little better than John A. Murrell's clan of outlaws."

Pistols were drawn and cocked. They shouted back to him: "It is a lie! It's a lie!

"Men were pale with rage and still as death. They ceased to breathe; the suspense was terrible," says the newspaper account written at that time. Johnson looked them calmly over, paused, dropped his hand on the handle of his own pistol as he gazed around at the rage his words had created, then deliberately resumed his speech.

The next appointment was in a Know-Nothing stronghold. They swore they would kill him if he made that speech again. Influential Democrats waited on him as a committee and begged him to omit the speech.

"I'll make that speech tomorrow," he replied, "if it blows the Democratic Party to hell.

Before speaking he was notified that the Know-Nothings had organized to throw him off the platform. He armed himself, mounted the platform, told the crowd he had heard they were going to assassinate him if he made his speech, and laying his pistol on the table before him, invited them to start the killing then, so that he might proceed uninterrupted.

There was no movement. "Gentlemen, pardon me. It appears I have been misinformed." But his peace-making six-shooter which he knew so well how to use, remained where it was. Again he poured his vitriol into the face of the Know-Nothings.

His party sent him to the Senate. He was supreme in the state. The tailor had accomplished what his beloved counterpart, the rail-splitter, could not do—he had conquered aristocracy and become their leader.

The year was 1858 and underneath the nation's Capitol seethed a volcano.

### The Big Guns of Eloquence

Then came the surprise of aristocracy's life-a Democrat, a Southerner and a slaveowner, he stood for Andrew Jackson's Union amid threats, curses, challenges to duels, ridicule and bowie knives drawn on the floor of the Senate when he spoke. Every Southern senator resigned that body and left. One day he became famous. His name till then was not wholly unknown, but after his great Union speech it flashed across the continent in one night, a fiery ball of burning eloquence that wakened the sleeping, numbed and indifferent nation as a meteor in the sky rumbling with thunder. It was two days before Lincoln's inauguration, and the doubting suavity of the spineless, dumfounded Buchanan had spread a pall of gloom and apathy over the country. The fire ball of Johnson eloquence wakened

"Sir," shouted the brilliant, audacious Lane of Oregon, walking the aisle of the

Senate with one hand behind and presumably close to his weapon, while Johnson faced him eye to eye, "Andrew Johnson, like Esau, had sold his birthright. Such a man never had a correct idea in his head . . . His infamous speech had been scattered broadcast over the country. A tyrant understands a state cannot be coerced. . . ."

Jefferson Davis, before he left, had called him a "Southern traitor . . . men of that class are but miserable recreants nailed to a cross. . . ."

"There are men," said Johnson, rising and shaking an index finger across the aisle in Lane's face, "who talk about cowardice cowards and all that sort of thing. I will say here once and for all that these two eyes of mine never looked upon any being in the shape of mortal man that this heart of mine feared. Sir, have we reached a point of time in which we dare not speak of treason? Our forefathers spoke of it in the Constitution of our country; they have defined what treason is. Who is it that has been engaged in making war upon the United States? Who is it that has fired on our flag? Who is it that has given instructions to take your arsenals, your forts, your dockyards, to seize your custom houses and rob your treasuries? Show me who has been engaged in these conspiracies; show me who has been sitting in these mighty and secret conclaves plotting the overthrow of the Government, and I will show you a

### For the Union

At the word "traitor" all semblance of order ceased. It was two hours before order could be restored on the floor and in the howling galleries shouting for Johnson. Lane walked nervously around, shouting, 'Let the galleries hear! They can't move me if all are armed! I have nothing to fear!"

Johnson stood grim, calm and unruffled. Douglas' motion not to clear the galleries

finally prevailed. "Will Tennessee," thundered Johnson, in closing his speech in which the galleries turmoiled their approbation or stood on tiptoe in silence—"will Tennessee ever desert the grave of him who bore the proud emblem of our Union in triumph, or desert the flag that he waved in victory? No. never! She was in the Union before some of these states were spoken into existence and she intends to remain in. Is the Senate. are the American people prepared to give up the graves of Washington and Jackson to be encircled and guarded and controlled by a combination of traitors and rebels? I say, let the battle go on in freedom's cause until the Stars and Stripes-God bless them!—shall again be unfurled from every crossroads and every housetop throughout the Confederacy, North and South. Let the Union be reunited, let the law be en-

forced, let the Constitution be supreme." Here again the galleries made a wreck of decorum. "Three cheers for the Union and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee!" rolled over the heads of decorous senators. The Speaker called for arrests. "Arrest and be damned!"

came desperately back.

"This speech," said Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy, in his great history, The War Between the States "was characterized throughout by

extraordinary fervor and eloquence, and in my judgment did more to strengthen and arouse the war passion of the people of the North than everything else combined."

When Johnson returned to Tennessee he took his life in his hands. At towns in Virginia when his train stopped toughs rushed his car to "lynch the traitor." At Lynchburg he stood them off with a pistol. When he reached Tennessee he was practically an outcast. He went over the state making Union speeches at the risk of his life. Plots were made to assassinate him. Warned in time, he escaped. His state, following him, voted overwhelmingly to stay in the Union, but when Lincoln called for her quota of volunteers to fight their neighbors and their own people. Johnson's state, in June, voted sadly to go out. All but Johnson's East Tennessee-it never went out.

### Using His Sixth Sense

Johnson was driven from the state, his property confiscated, his family placed under guard.

Fort Donelson 1ell, and with it Nashville, and all the rich granary of Middle and West Tennessee and Kentucky was held in the Union by Buell's army at Nashville. "No man can hold the border states in the Union but Johnson," said Lincoln, and from his safe seat in the United States Senate sent him into the perils of military governor of the state. Time and again Lincoln had to choose between Johnson and his generals. Each time they had to knuckle to the military governor. Buell, Thomas, Schofieldall soon found that Johnson's wishes were the President's.

It is said that his influence alone added 300,000 men from the border states to the Union Army. No army of the enemy could push north of Nashville for long, while 50,-000 troops in impregnable forts stood in their rear.

To reclaim this territory, capture and destroy Johnson, seven great, bloody and decisive battles were fought: Shiloh, Perryville, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, Atlanta, Franklin and Nashville. The last one ended the war in the West, December 16, 1864.

The summer of 1864, despite Union victories, were gloomy days for Lincoln and his cause. Grumbling and discontent everywhere, draft riots in the East, copperheads crawling out into the sun, state elections that threatened to send an adverse majority to the forthcoming Congress, and the "Little Napoleon" running against him for the presidency, strutting in spectacular mediocrity and the faked uniform of greatness. The harassed Lincoln all but gave up. "This morning," he wrote in August, 1864, in a private memorandum, still preserved, "as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be reëlected. Then it will be my duty to cooperate with the President-elect so as to save the Union." Lincoln had, as Seward said, "a sixth sense for politics that is pos-itively uncanny." He exercised it now by selecting Andrew Johnson as his running mate. Johnson, he knew, would hold the Northern Democrats, civilians and soldiers, who, true to their faith, filled Lincoln's army. An uncanny foresight, indeed, and unbelievable to less far-seeing eyes. Turning down his own mate, Vice President Hannibal Hamlin, Dickinson of New York and

Holt of Kentucky, the Rail-Splitter chose the Tennessee tailor.

Thus was the tailor swept back triumphantly to Washington. He was toasted, fêted, proclaimed everywhere. Save only his chief, he was the most beloved and popular official in the United States.

Though Johnson owned slaves and Lincoln did not, even on this question which precipitated the war, despite their differing parties and environments, they held the same views.

What to do, how to get rid of slavery, staggered Lincoln, as it had the South, from the days of their manumission societies and stern laws against the further importation of slaves, to John Brown's fanatic raid that would free them by murdering their mas-

"When the Southern people tell me they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are," said Lincoln, at Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854, "I will acknowledge the fact. If all earthly power were given me I should not know what to do as to the existing situation. Free them equals? My own feelings will not admit of this."

It is true he asserted often that slavery was wrong, but again and again he asserted that he had no constitutional right to free the slaves, and from the very first of the war he held that it was waged not to free the slaves but to preserve the Union.

In the crisis of the war he expressed it tersely when he said that to save the Union he would be willing to free all of them, or part of them, or none of them. He held to it

v and Perry-Atshvi : e st one : West, December 16, 64, despite Union vicdays for Lincoln and ng and discontent everythe East, copperheads e sun, state elections lan adverse majority gress, and the "Litagainst h r for the ALLIST AL spectac mediiform of tness. all hu ٦p. te in A um. sti 1. eed' it seems ly lot .ı wi ra duty coe m o as to nt-el as Seward n ne that is posit now by is running Ĵ( held the ldiers, oro ix oln's 2 353 and d te hand be

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to the last. His Emancipation Proclamation applied to only about 200,000 slaves in the war zone. In the epoch-making conference at Hampton Roads, in February, 1865, between Lincoln and Seward and members of the Davis cabinet, he offered, if the Confederacy would lay down its arms and come back into the Union, to suggest a payment of \$400,000,000 for their emancipated slaves. Davis' stubbornness in fighting to the bitter end made all this come to naught. It was a calamity to the South second only to the war itself. In sixty days Lincoln was dead and Davis in prison.

I incoln's greatest dictum on this subject is a masterpiece of truth: "This country cannot permanently exist half slave and half free." He was right.

### A Scheme of Evolution

Though slavery was the chief cause of the South's taking up arms against the Union, it was not the primary aim to abolish slavery, of those who fought to preserve the Union

The so-called institution of slavery, which through the ages, until the advent of steam and labor-saving machinery made it obsolete, had been a lawful and economical structure, did not become a holy temple until the blood of millions had been sprinkled on its lintels.

There is no question of right or wrong in evolution. There is neither moral nor immoral in its gigantic and all-pervading scheme. Throughout the ages, until steam awakened and set the world on a larger plane, slavery had always been evolution's scheme to give the backward nation a chance for its own civilization.

Lincoln's whole policy, so typical of his great spirit, had been, as soon as peace was declared, to bring "the erring sisters" back into the Federal Union under the Constitution and laws that would be in harmony with his proclamation on the abolition of Already governments had been established in Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee, and at the last meeting of his cabinet, the day before his death, without dissent or objection from any, Lincoln laid before them similar plans for admitting Virginia and North Carolina. There had been no dissent from either Congress or the cabinet. In his last public utterances, on April 11, 1865, in a speech to the people of Washington, he did not stress the surrender of Lee, but dwelt with great satisfaction on the Louisiana experiment of readmission,

announced the fact that his cabinet was unanimous on his reconstruction policy, and expressed the hope that the intelligent Union soldiers among the negroes might be given the franchise.

Death took him on April 15, 1865.

The South, aye, humanity, lost its greatest friend.

Johnson loved Lincoln as he loved no other man save Andrew Jackson, now dead twenty years. To Johnson it was hero worship, one of the few unselfish attachments that ever entered into the soul of this stubborn, sullen Cato. They had fought to-gether and suffered together for the Union as no other two public men had. They had worked and planned together without dissent or misunderstanding. They had cast aside party and state for the cause. Johnson was no longer a Democrat and Southerner; Lincoln no longer a Republican and Northerner while the Union was in the balance.

They had been elected together on this ticket of the Union. To those who knew Johnson it was not strange that he had but one policy-to carry out Lincoln's. This he proclaimed from the housetops to the For this he walked the red-heated plowshares of Hate.

### One Nation Indivisible

The political instrument originated by the radicals to discredit and defeat Johnson was known as the Tenure of Office Act passed March 2, 1867, to prevent the President from removing the Secretaries of State, Treasury, War, Navy, Interior, the Postmaster General and Attorney-General. Its real object was to prevent the President from removing Secretary of War Stanton. Johnson fired him with promptness and indignation. Knowing the act was unconstitutional, Johnson and his cabinet planned to thwart impeachment by getting it into court. To meet this, Grant was appointed December 12, 1867, with his promise that he would not give possession to the enemy. In one month the threats and pressure of the radicals were too much even for the iron soldier. Stanton grabbed it, refused to vacate, and the Administration was where it had been. On February twenty-first the President again removed Stanton and appointed General Lorenzo Thomas. On February 24, 1868, articles of impeachment were adopted by the House of Representatives, based almost wholly on the President's violation of the act and other specifications of alleged improper remarks he had made in his speeches. In the final trial before the bar of the Senate they lacked one vote of degrading and disgracing him in the eyes of the world. In haste, after failing to convict him, they partially repealed this un-constitutional law themselves. When Grant became President, he indignantly wiped the statute from the books.

Now, sixty years afterward, comes the Supreme Court of the United States and in unanswerable vindication declares that Johnson was within his rights and his accusers were in error. In an opinion delivered by its able Chief Justice in an epochmaking decision, rendered October 26, 1926, in the case of Myers vs. the United States, Chief Justice Taft says: "That the Tenure of Office Act of 1867, in so far as it attempted to prevent the President from removing executive officers who had been appointed by him, and with the advice and consent of the Senate, was invalid and that subsequent legislation of the same effect was equally so.'

The verdict of posterity has long preceded the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, yet it is known of all who have read the records of that bitter era that the same radicals who branded Johnson had their irons heated for Lincoln. They would have destroyed him as ruthlessly as they did Johnson, or forced him to abandon his policy of forgiving, forgetting

Booth's bullet may have been Immortality's ministering angel to the martyred President.

If Johnson had succeeded, what a record would have been his! No military rule for the next decade in the South, no satrap government; no infamous and cor rupt era of Reconstruction; no Force Bill in its attempt to place "black heels on white necks," no Iron-clad Oath disfran-chising white Anglo-Saxon for negro domination, no Ku Klux, no Solid South, no half century of hate and bloody shirts. The gentle, lovable McKinley's era of peace and understanding, culminating in the re-united nation of today, would have been his.

They wrecked his office and his useful-To them he was a traitor. What is worse, they convinced the North that he was! To this stigma of traitor, the South added the superlative. Had they not reared him, honored him, made him their congressman, their governor, their senator? In return, as military governor of Tennessee, in his overwhelming zeal in the relentless struggle to retain the border states in the Union, he had imprisoned or deported their leaders, confiscated their property for revenue to fight them, and actually sent their ministers of the gospel to the penitentiary for preaching secession from the pulpits. But for his iron hand and army at Nashville, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri would have been Confederate. They had no pity for this whelp of their own kennels who had chased their armies out of their own back yards and held the border states in the Union.

And so, caught between the red-hot coals and the branding iron, Johnson was roped and branded. It was the brand of partisan passion in the aftermath of blood and war, the age-eternal clamor of Rage calling for crucifixion, when Reason became a bandit and Justice a hangman.

### With the Guns of Sumter

On April fourteenth, the anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter, great guns were fired when the Stars and Stripes were again raised over the historic walls. At ten o'clock that night, at Ford's Theater in

Washington, a smaller gun was fired that was more fatal and far-reaching than all the other guns fired during the Civil War. The Vice President was asleep in his room when ex-Governor Farwell, of Wisconsin, who had been at Ford's Theater, rushed into his room with the staggering news that Lincoln had been shot by an assassin. The two men, shocked, clung to each other for support in dumbing dismay. Later, Johnson went to the death chamber, but his grief overcame him. He latter his room before Lincoln died. He was worn in as President in the parlor of Kirkwood Hotel at eleven o'clock, Sat rday, April fifteenth, by Chief Justice Chase, in the presence of some members of his cabinet and others. "May God support, guide and bless you in your Administration," said the Chief Justice. Overwhelmer the new President's few words won al hearts: "All patriots and lovers of right all who are in favor of a free government f ra free people, will hold up my hands," he pleaded. . . . "The duties are mine; the consequences are God's."

So far, no man had surpassed Johnson in his vehement zeal for restoring the Union and hanging the chief rebels. "Treason is odious and must be punished" was his slogan. The radicals, who secretly had been plotting to undo Lincoln, were jubilant at the prospect. At a caucus following his accession to the presidency, Ben Wade said: "Don't hang more than a round dozen rebels, Johnson. By the gods, we have faith in you. There will be no trouble with the rebels now.

And Lincoln not yet buried!

Few Presidents were more popular than Johnson during his first year. From every source his Administration was called wise and patriotic. He was healing the wounds of war, he "was stemming the tide of fa-naticism," he "was attaching the South to the Union by cords stronger than triple steel" acclaimed the press and the people

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of the land. He pushed through the Thir-

teenth Amendment, freeing the slaves.
Lincoln, dead, was triumphant. The nation, North and South, rejoiced. then, fell impeachment?

Blind and bitter partisan politics—it

shackles our greater progress today!
"These returning Southern States," said the radicals, "will return Democratic congressmen, and the unenfranchised negro will be a citizen in name only." To make them forever theirs they would reverse the process of the centuries, give the franchise to the negro who had never produced a civilization, and take it away from the Anglo-Saxon white who had given democracy to the world. In this they brought to naught all that Lincoln had died for and Johnson was fighting for. They re-created the Southern Confederacy not for war but in a greater fight to preserve their race life. They created the Solid South not for a party but for a race. It is not Democratic today. It is merely white, with the old Whig ideals in the lead if they might only Our voting, like our religion, in speak. time becomes a habit; but miscegenation throughout the ages has always been a mistress and never a mother.

### Relaxing With Cato

Johnson was not entirely guiltless in this situation. In his zeal he had outpreached them all with invectives against the rebels and his resolve to hang them. Now, shocked, numbed, sobered, humbled by the awful responsibility so suddenly and tragically hurled upon him, his vituperations were hushed; his anger ceased as he realized that he was now the President of all the people of the United States and that never before in all its history had any President ever sat in so tragic a chair, to face antagonism so relentless, differing and fanatic.

Warren Hastings, whose impeachment trial lasted nearly nine years, had daily to bend the pregnant hinges of his knees before the great tribunal which tried him, while Burke and Sheridan raked him with

withering eloquence.

Not so with Andrew Johnson. Heignored their demand for his presence before the prejudged jury that tried him and left it to his lawyers. He knew that their passionpassed act struck at the liberties of the American people and would take from their Chief Executives their constitutional rights, to invest them in a coterie of politicians.

It all worried Johnson not at all. He worked harder at his tasks-much of it vetoing their passion-mad measures and amendments as he knew Lincoln would have done. The two-thirds majority of his enemies passed them ruthlessly over his head and the battle went on. For mental rest, he spent his hours reading and reciting Cato to his secretaries. "I never saw him smile in two years," says his secretary, Frank Cowan, "never saw him relax from the most austere dignity I ever beheld in mortal man. If he had a Bible, it was the Constitution of the United States. He was too great to be companionable and his own philosophy teaches that he paid the penalty for his greatness in loneliness."

He knew the clean amenities of his great office. An admirer sent him a pair of horses and a carriage from New York. He sent

For two more years he sat in the White House, the personification of dignity, courage and Catonian philosophy. Charles Dickens visited him, and this subtle reader of human hearts wrote into his books his admiration: "I would have picked him out anywhere as a character of mark. A man with a remarkable head, indomitable courage, truthfulness and strength of purpose."

He had driven back the hounds of Actaon, which would have destroyed him, to their kennels, and for two years alternately they growled, snarled, barked, and sometimes whined pitifully at him, but he threw them

no sop of compromise or repentance.

Two years—and yet they were quite happy days withal. "We are plain people

from Tennessee," said his wife, the remarkable woman who had been to Andrew Johnson not only wife but the torch of his knowledge and the inspiration of his soul—"just plain people from Tennessee," she said to the newspaper reporters with a motherly smile, "and you must not expect too much of us in a social way." She was then nearing the end of a fatal illness which had stricken her in the awful calamity of exposure and war. Her daughter, Mrs. Patterson, wife of a senator from Tennessee, was the real head of the White House. With true housewifely thrift she bought two Jersey cows. She made the White House butter. dren played upon the lawn. She kept clean and typical this house of democracy.

### Back Among His Own People

And so went back home to his native mountains of Tennessee this man of whom his enemies boasted that he had no God, no country, no party, no people—went home and found them all awaiting him in a comeback that had no parallel in politics.

When Andrew Johnson's foot fell on Tennessee soil there was a scuttling of small things to the bushes. He went right out for what he called his vindication—the senatorship—and against major-general idols of the late Confederacy—William B. Bate and John C. Brown—both in a few years to be governors of Tennessee and one, later, its senator. They had come into their own, their party had swept the state, the oldline Democracy that Johnson had always led before Fort Sumter's day was in the saddle. But now they denied that ever he had been theirs!

"It's a Democratic legislature," said the old commoner, "and my own people. Let He went over the state making us see." speeches whose logic showed lack of bitterness and sounded more like Lincoln than Johnson. But they roused the people as from the dead.

In the first ballot for senator he deadlocked the combination. He had almost as many as the two combined. It was his ancient enemy, Senator Brownlow, who at last turned the trick against him. He threw

his organized minority to a Democrat, beating Johnson by one vote, and had the chagrin, afterward, of having his own vote always killed in the Senate. It was 1871.

"Brownlow's term will expire in four years," said the old commoner. "I'll get

He did—and the getting was typical. ain it was his fight against a major genil of the Confederacy-afterward twice vernor and senator. Starting with thirtysix votes out of the fifty-one necessary, they deadlocked Johnson at forty-four. Again it hung on a thread. The old lion had not stalked his prey on politic fields for fifty years to fail on the last track now. He sent for General Forrest greatest of "Control of the sent greatest of "Control of the sent greatest of the sent grea General Forrest, greatest of all Confeder te cavalry leaders, and who had come so near capturing Nashville and hanging him during the war. "General Forrest, these damned little brigadiers are just using you and your influence to defeat me. If they want to beat me, why don't they bring out a real general like you?"

With one stroke he won Forrest, his friends and the senatorship. Andy had come again, and the state went wild in celebration that all but tore down the old

Maxwell House.

### Returning to a Changed World

On March 4, 1875, there walked down the aisle of the United States Senate the only ex-President who has ever come back to that most august body of lawmakers. A sturdy, blocky figure, tailored to perfection in black broadcloth, his black hair crowning a large, round, fighting head and falling almost to broad plebeian shoulders. His black eyes shone, his step was quick and true. Spontaneous applause echoed around

As he walked in, Brownlow had walked out to die, his throat paralyzed, his voice

hushed.

The old commoner stood awaiting the oath and the Bible, and looking around, he thought of Cato and his retributive justice. Of the thirty-five who had voted to impeach him, twenty-two had already lost their heads, some in death, others in the Stygian harbor of "lame ducks." In the House a majority of sixty-three were his friends. All about him was change—all but him—Andrew Johnson—he had never changed.

Thaddeus Stevens, ablest, most honest and most fanatic of his enemies, had died in dismay, proclaiming the end of all popular government, and cynically, in his will, ordering his body to be buried in a negro graveyard. Charles Sumner, the purest of them, an idealist whose vision of social equality had failed to harmonize with the laws of his evolution, had died, humiliated and beaten. Even Vice President Wilson, who had called Johnson "an enemy to his country, the lineal descendant of Jefferson Davis," smiled benignly as he handed him the Bible to consummate his oath.

The old Cato looked around-the vanity of human ambition and the sureness of retributive justice clinched all he had written.

The Southerners had changed, both Democrats and Whigs. They had cursed him for a traitor, but it was they who had forgotten the Union and the Democracy of Andrew Jackson, not he. The party of changed. The Lincoln itself had bitterly changed. shepherd dogs of both parties that had guarded safely the flock of the Union had forgotten their dead shepherd and were fol-

lowing the wolf call of the wild.

Grant sat in the White House, and how sadly the great soldier had changed! The generous victor whose terms to Lee's soldiers and promises of protection and readmission into the Union had made him, next to Lee, the idol of the South, had reversed it all with his six years of military government and negro rule over the dicfranchised people he held under a bayonet. The Whisky Ring, the Star Route frauds, Crédit Mobilier, the Freedmen's Bureau and Belknap grafts of his Administration, had saddened and shocked the nation, and

the rumblings of the storm that would soon overwhelm it were already in the air. Only Appomattox and the fact that the great soldier himself was honest saved him. Too honest even to suspect dishonesty, he sat like a sturdy mastiff guarding his master's barnyard, to awaken at last to the fact that the curs who had flattered, frolicked and friendshiped around him had sucked all his Even then he could not see, and permitted them to lead him the next year to the slaughterhouse of a third term!

Stanton, a really great Secretary of War, but of inconstant soul, had passed out. All had changed and all seemed to have forgotten the Rail-Splitter, but God and

the Tailor.

### Unwavering Faith

Johnson made one speech-his last. God had been good to him, said the dying Cato. It was the same appeal for the supremacy of the Constitution, for the rights of the common people, for rehabilitating the warshaken states, for the supremacy of the white man's government. He was no longer Cato but Isaiah as he foretold the doom of military rule and corruption in high places. He gloried in his own cleanliness. Standing in solemn dignity, he looked not unlike Samuel the Prophet as he thundered: "Whose ox have I taken or whose ass have I taken? Or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith?"

He fell in his beloved valley from a stroke, and died four months afterward. They buried him on the vision-pointing hill of his beloved Greeneville, where he said he wanted to rest, and wrapped in the nation's flag that he had helped to save. The great eagle of his own aerie stands typically on the peak of the noble shaft. Below, written into the stone, is his name, that he was the seventeenth President of the United States, and the words: "His faith in the people never wavered."

The shaft needs one more line: The people's faith in him never wavered.

In the overflow of water that runs under the Rail-Splitter's wheel, some might be spared to turn the silent one of the Tailor.

### A President Who Failed

THE CRITICAL YEAR. A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction. By Howard K. Beale ... New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company ... \$3.75.

Reviewed by THOMAS ROBSON HAY

T is Mr. Beale's conviction that "Had a referendum been taken in December 1865, Johnson's policy (which was, in its essentials, Lincoln's policy) would have been approved." The majority of the people were tired of war and of politics and wanted only to be left alone, but this was not in accordance with the Radical program of reconstruction instead of restoration. The Radicals were able, "by a skillful use of the tools of political campaigning," to turn the people against Johnson and his policy. 'Post-war excitement, dormant bitterness, and fear provided the Radicals with excellent raw material for a campaign of hysteria" . . . and they made the most of their opportunity. Though the unreasonable conduct of the South and the stubbornness and stupidity of Johnson . . . "enabled the politicians to gain a hearing," the constitutional discussions of the rights of the Negro, the status of the Southern States, the legal position of the ex-rebels, and the powers of Congress and President determined nothing. They were pure shams. The Radical party deliberately set out to "educate" the people, by a program of falsehood, misrepresentation and "claptrap" to the conviction "that the South could not be trusted and that the administration policy was therefore dangerous to Northern interest; it aimed by

a gradual process to win people to the use of force and to Negro rights—eventually to the Negro equality necessary to maintain Radicals in power, but revolting to thousands of loyal Northerners. Disparagement of Johnson, the great advocate of moderation, would serve both objects." Constant discussion and agitation on the platform and in the press was the method of "education."

Neither Congress nor the Radicals made any effort to "co-operate with Johnson to secure the approval of measures or to confer with him." Issues were befogged intentionally. Prominent Radicals toured the South to secure evidence to convince the people of the efficacy of their program rather than to secure facts at first-hand on which to erect a policy. They concocted scandals concerning Johnson without troubling to present any evidence. To many Southerners Negro suffrage was both distasteful

and unthinkable, but for the politicians it was "the only permanent guarantee of Radical tenure of power." To secure the vote for the Negro required, first, the demolition of the Northern prejudice against him and, second, the physical protection, if need be, of the voter against the Southern white man. To accomplish this condition required the garrisoning of the South by armed force, the denial to the South of membership in the Union except under such conditions as to deprive it of direction of its own political life, and the generation of such Northern support as would not only keep the party in power but also make possible a revision of the Constitution in a way to perpetuate Radical control. "Only Johnson's tenacity in holding to the older theories prevented the establishment of a parliamentary system with Congress omnipotent . . . and with the central government allpowerful in a nation from which state lines had been obliterated." Negro suffrage was enacted in a wave of hysteria generated by Radical propaganda, falsehood and innuendo. The conservative Northern voter repudiated as next to intolerable the suggestion of social and political equality with the Negro, but he was so "educated" to hate and fear the South that he became willing to im-

pose Negro domination on the defeated foe and to overlook the fact that the Negroes of the North, then few in numbers and inconsequential, were thereby enfranchised.

In 1866 the Radical managers controlled the votes, if not the opinions, of an overwhelming majority in Congress. How to consolidate and perpetuate this power was the problem. Only the President and possibly the Supreme Court blocked the way to complete control. Johnson must be taught to acknowledge the rights and powers of the militant majority and to be a puppet and servant who would obey Congress without quibble or question. To clip Johnson's wings as a preliminary to putting him in a gilded cage was the aim of the Radical leaders. They stopped at nothing to accomplish their object. The elections of 1866 effectively restricted the President's power, but the defeat of the impeachment program effectively prevented presidential emasculation and marked the beginning of a growth of executive supremacy that, in our own day, almost, has become overshadowing.

The Radicals succeeded, not because of the soundness of their tenets on important issues, but rather because of a skillful general-ship that was able to evade these issues. Johnson, on his part, had not the skill or the vision to force the opposition into the open, but instead endeavored to meet it on

ground of its own choosing. An attack on the economic views of the Radical leadership would have aroused the West and would "have marshalled all the latent discontent" in that section to the support of the administration. Johnson's failure to do this was "a fatal error in political judgment." His attitude enabled his opponents "to relegate all these dangerous economic issues to a position of irrelevance." As it was, "if Southern economic interests had coincided with those of the rising industrial groups of the North (and West). there would have been no Radical re-

construction." Had Johnson grounded his case on the new alignment of economic questions instead of on the indeterminable conditions of a remote South and thus dramatized his position, his chances of success would have been greatly improved.

The explanation of Johnson's failure to capitalize the advantages accruing to him through the focusing of popular attention on economic issues to the exclusion of the Radical program of political Reconstruction, is perhaps to be found in Johnson's own particularistic attitude and his agrarian and provincial outlook. He had lived in the hubbub and furore of the political arena and had few other interests than politics. He was a strict constructionist in conflict with the spirit of modern nationalism. He was an agrarian individualist who could not understand or appreciate the meaning of the budding industrialism which was transmuting the individualism of the frontier into the collectivism of Big Business. Because he failed to sense this process and to focus it and give it leadership and direction he was forced to meet the Radicals at a great disadvantage and to fight them on ground and with weapons of their own choosing. The legacies of Johnson's defeat are a bitter and humiliated South, a perpetual Negro problem, and the Fourteenth Amendment with all its implications—corporate, rather than humanitarian. Such is Mr. Beale's summary.

This book will be invaluable to the student of Reconstruction and must be used by any future writer on the period from Lincoln's death to President Hayes' final withdrawal of Federal troops from Southern territory and the restoration of home rule.

ANDREW JOHNSON TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN

JOHNSON, Andrew. President U. S. L.S. 1½ pp., 8vo. State of Tennessee, Executive Department, Nashville, Sept. 30, 1864. To President Lincoln.

Interesting Letter, written by Johnson as Military Governor of Tennessee, introducing to the President a certain Jean Joseph Gears, a Union sympathizer from Alabama, whom Johnson recommends as "a gentleman of integrity and respectability. He is one of the few in that country who stood firm to the Union." Etc., etc. https://deligible.

Mr. John Marshall Holcombe, Jr. Life Insurance Agency Management Association Hartford, 5, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Holcombe:

It seems to me that you have acquired a very valuable manuscript in the application for life insurance signed by Andrew Johnson on the day that Lincoln was shot. I am wondering if your are planning to use a facsimile of this item in a future article you may have in mind. This would make a very interesting document for not only the insurance but Lincoln students as well.

Some day when you have an opportunity to have one made, we should like very much to secure a photostat.

Very truly yours,

LAW: EB

Dimector

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I IFF INSURANCE AGENCY MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION

SUCCESSOR TO

ASSOCIATION OF LIFE AGENCY OFFICERS - ESTABLISHED 1916

LIFE INSURANCE SALES RESEARCH BUREAU - ESTABLISHED 1922

115 BROAD STREET

HARTFORD 5, CONNECTICUT

LEWIS W.S. CHAPMAN. C. L. U. DIRECTOR OF SERVICE AND COMPANY RELATIONS CHARLES J. ZIMMERMAN, C. L. U.

DIRECTOR OF INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS

JOHN MARSHALL HOLCOMBE, JR.
MANAGING DIRECTOR ELIZABETH C. STEVENS SECRETARY-TREASURER

WENDELL F. HANSELMAN, PRESIDENT

December 19, 1946

### AIR MAIL

Dr. Louis Warren Director Lincoln National Life Foundation Fort Wayne, Indiana

Dear Dr. Warren:

The most recent addition to my collection was an application for life insurance signed by Andrew Johnson on the day that Lincoln was shot --April 14. It has many interesting angles to it and is signed with his wife's name "by Andrew Johnson." You will recall that old applications were always signed that way.

I am still hopeful of completing my letters from all of the Lincoln Cabinet. I think I have all but two now.

With the best of good wishes, I am

Yours very sincerely,

JMH: HZD

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Markall Horsomly

LIFE INSURANCE

### AGENCY MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION

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ASSOCIATION OF LIFE AGENCY OFFICERS - ESTABLISHED 1916
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CHARLES J. ZIMMERMAN,C.L. U.
DIRECTOR OF INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS

CECIL J. NORTH, PRESIDENT

January 3, 1947

Dr. Louis A. Warren Director Lincoln National Life Foundation Fort Wayne, Indiana

Dear Dr. Warren:

JOHN MARSHALL HOLCOMBE,JR.
MANAGING DIRECTOR

FLIZABETH C.STEVENS

Regarding the application for life insurance on the life of Andrew Johnson I have the permission of the company which gave me this interesting document to use it in any of the informal talks which I am occasionally asked to make.

They feel that even an application which was made eighty years ago is of a sufficiently confidential nature so that they do not wish to have it duplicated.

I might perhaps use the material in an article without mentioning the name of the company, but if I gave copies of it the name of the company would of course be obvious and the officers of this particular company feel that they would prefer that I did not do this.

I am sorry, therefore, that I hardly feel that I have the authority to give a photostat of it to you. Some time when you are here at Hartford I shall be delighted to show it to you.

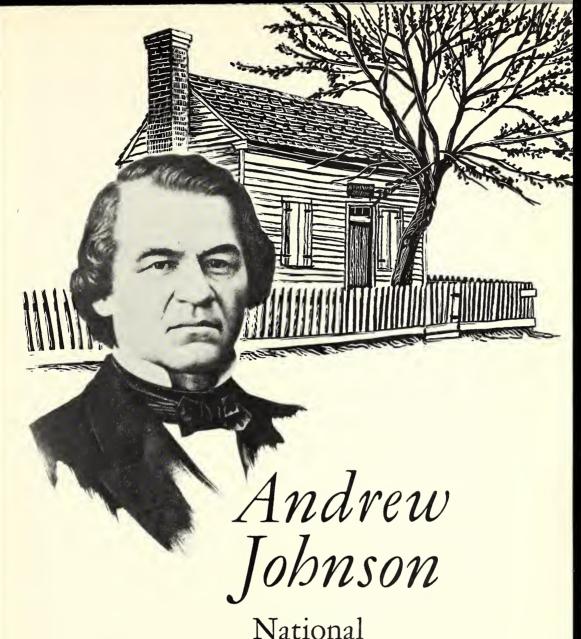
Yours very sincerely,

To he Marilal Hollowbe

JMH:HZD

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CECIL J. NORTH, METROPOLITAN, PRESIDENT



National Monument

1947

TENNESSEE



# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, J. A. Krug, Secretary



NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, Newton B. Drury, Director

# Andrew Johnson National Monument

\*Here are preserved the modest structures in which Andrew Johnson, a man who believed in the advancement of the common man and the preservation of the Union, lived and worked while winning his way upward to the Presidency of the United States. Here also is the grave of Andrew Johnson.

NDREW JOHNSON NATIONAL MONU-MENT preserves important sites associated with the seventeenth President of the United States: the tailor shop in which he worked at the beginning of his career, his home, and his grave. The tailor shop, in which he obtained much of his education while working at his humble trade, is now preserved within a brick building. His home, constructed after he had achieved prominence in the field of politics, is a comfortable yet modest dwelling, which has withstood the ravages of time. Over his grave has been erected a monument featuring Andrew Johnson's strict adherence to the Constitution throughout his career. Together, these places illustrate a fundamental principle of American democracy—that a man, no matter how humble his origin or his environment, can make his way even to the Presidency.

Andrew Johnson's words and actions reveal his steadfast belief in democracy. Mindful of his own humble background and the struggle it involved, he respected the will of the people. To him public office represented an opportunity for service, not a means to personal gain or glory. Typical of his championship of the common man were his efforts, as Governor of Tennessee, to broaden the scope of public education,

and, as Congressman, to secure the passage of a homestead bill.

### Andrew Johnson's Career

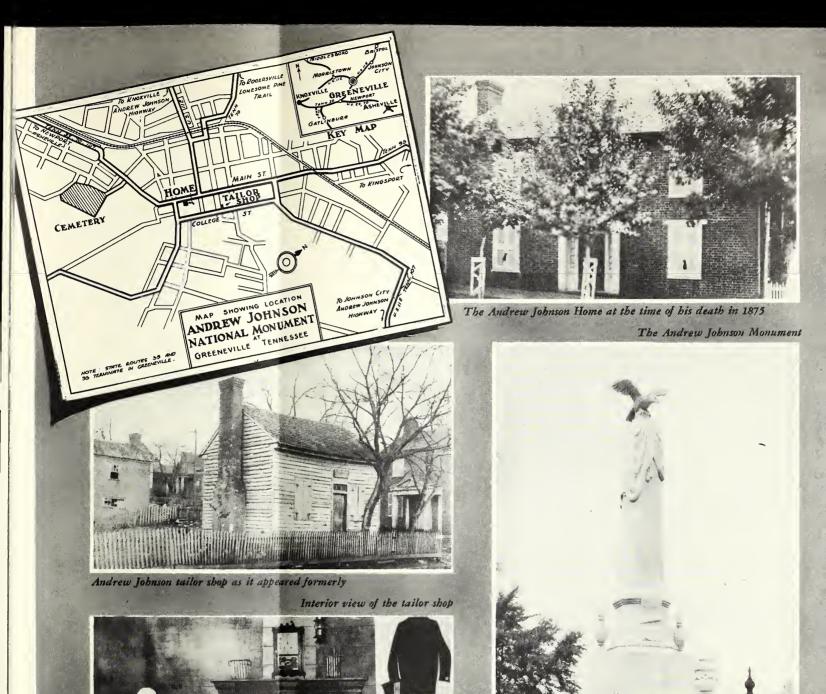
Andrew Johnson's success was achieved in the face of great adversity. Born in Raleigh, N. C., on December 29, 1808, his early life was marked by the hardships of extreme poverty. He was 4 years old when his father died; while still a boy, it was necessary that he assume his share of the family's support. Instead of going to school, he became a tailor's apprentice. Before completing the full term of apprenticeship, however, he decided to work for himself. In 1826, he and his family traveled by pony cart to Greeneville, Tenn., where he soon established himself in his trade. There he met Eliza McCardle and they were married on May 17, 1827, when Johnson was 18 years of age. Thus began a devoted companionship destined to have a profound effect upon the shaping of Johnson's career and enduring throughout a long succession of triumphs and rebuffs.

Andrew Johnson was a successful tailor. Within a few years he was able to buy a shop and build a home. The shop was a small frame structure, which Johnson moved to its present location. The home, a brick building in which he lived from

1838 to 1851, still stands across the street from the shop. Meanwhile, he had taken steps to remedy his lack of education. In the tailor shop he employed young men to read to him as he worked. Sometimes Eliza assisted with the reading. Although not enrolled in college, he joined a debating society connected with the old Greeneville College, and each week he walked 4 miles to attend or take part in the debates. By these weekly forensic activities he cultivated his natural aptitude for public speaking.

Johnson's first venture into politics was in 1829 when, with the support of the workmen of the town, he was elected an alderman of Greeneville. The following year he was reelected, and in 1831 became mayor. From then on his rise was steady. He served in the lower house of the State legislature, then in the State senate. In 1843 began the first of five consecutive terms as Congressman. He was elected Governor of Tennessee in 1853 and 2 years later was reelected. In 1857, with sectional controversy over slavery and disunion nearing a climax, and the American people, divided in fundamental beliefs, being swept along on two diverse currents, Johnson was elected to the Senate of the United States.

Southerner and slaveholder, Johnson nonetheless stood firmly on the side of Union. On December 18 and 19, 1860, he delivered in the Senate one of the greatest speeches of his career. Lincoln had been elected a short time before; South Carolina had just passed a secession ordinance; Southern Congressmen were urging the States to withdraw from the Union. But, from the floor of the Senate, this Tennessee Senator proclaimed his faith in the Union and insisted that the Federal Government had the authority, under the Constitution, to execute laws within the States and, therefore, a State resisting such execution,



"... placed itself in the rebellious or nullifying attitude ..." As for himself, Johnson said, "... I intend to stand by the Constitution as it is, insisting upon a compliance with all its guarantees. ... It is the last hope of human freedom ..."

Johnson's refusal to follow Tennessee into secession increased his prestige in the North. During the War between the States he became a leading adviser of President Lincoln on Southern affairs. A personal following of some 13,000 "Andy Johnson Democrats" promptly entered the Union Army as volunteers. After much of Tennessee had been recovered by Union military forces, Lincoln appointed him to the hazardous position of military governor, with rank of brigadier general. When the National Union Convention of 1864 was searching for a strong running mate for Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, a war Democrat and southerner, was selected. Upon Lincoln's assassination, he succeeded to the Nation's highest office.

### JOHNSON AS PRESIDENT

JOHNSON was faced with the tremendous post-war program that his predecessor had only begun. Like Lincoln, Johnson held that no State could secede from the Union. Therefore, the Southern States, even though they had taken up arms, had never been out of the Union. As soon as they had ceased to resist, they could assume all the functions of government guaranteed to them by the Constitution. The program was to be accomplished through a generous and helpful attitude on the part of the Federal Government toward the southern people.

Johnson, however, lacked Lincoln's prestige as a victorious war President, and he did not have Lincoln's political finesse in handling opposition groups. His liberal policy was soon frustrated by Congress.

Seeking to regain political control of the country and curtail the powers of the Presidency, which had increased during the war period, the leaders in Congress, known as Radicals, denied seats to newly elected representatives from the Southern States. This prevented the natural combination of Northern and Southern Democrats and insured Radical control of the legislative branch. With Radical influence extending to two-thirds, thus destroying the effect of the President's vetoes, Congress enacted its own "reconstruction" program. This featured military rule of the Southern States, enfranchisement of the Negro, and disfranchisement of the Confederate veterans. On the whole, the program proved a failure. Based on force, it collapsed in 1877 with the end of "bayonet rule."

The struggle between resolute Executive and equally unyielding Congress led almost inevitably to impeachment. The issue was joined on the Tenure of Office Act, which limited the power of the President to remove officials whose appointments had been approved by the Senate. In 1867, in defiance of this act which he regarded as unconstitutional, President Johnson removed from office Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. Johnson was then impeached by the House of Representatives. The trial was held before the Senate during March-May 1868. The final vote was found to be one short of the twothirds necessary for conviction, and Johnson was acquitted. This is the only time in our history that a President has been impeached. The Tenure of Office Act, modified during Grant's administration and repealed in part in 1887, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1926.

The outstanding achievements of Johnson's administration were the purchase of Alaska and the successful application of the Monroe Doctrine against the French

in Mexico. Today, the tremendous importance of Alaska from a military view-point overshadows the great economic value it has had for the United States in the past.

After his Presidential term, Johnson returned to Greeneville, where he continued his interest in politics. In 1875, he was elected to the United States Senate and became the only ex-President ever to return to Washington as Senator. His service was brief, however, as he died on July 31 of that year.

Today, the monument over Johnson's grave memorializes the two great fundamentals that dominated his career. Carved on it is a scroll representing the Constitution; below, a hand placed on a Bible as in taking an oath. His constant adherence to democracy is commemorated by these words: "His faith in the people never wavered."

### THE NATIONAL MONUMENT

Andrew Johnson National Monument was authorized by an act of Congress in 1935 and was established by Presidential proclamation in 1942. It is located in Greeneville, Tenn.

Each of the units of the national monument has a varied history. The tailor shop, which Johnson acquired in 1830, remained in the hands of his heirs until 1921, when the State of Tennessee purchased it and constructed the brick building which now encloses it. Andrew Johnson bought the home in 1851, when it was still unfinished. It remained in possession of his descendants until 1941, when it was purchased by the Federal Government.

The Andrew Johnson Cemetery became Federal property in 1906, when it was donated by the Johnson heirs. It was administered as a national cemetery by the War Department until 1942.

### How To Reach the Monument

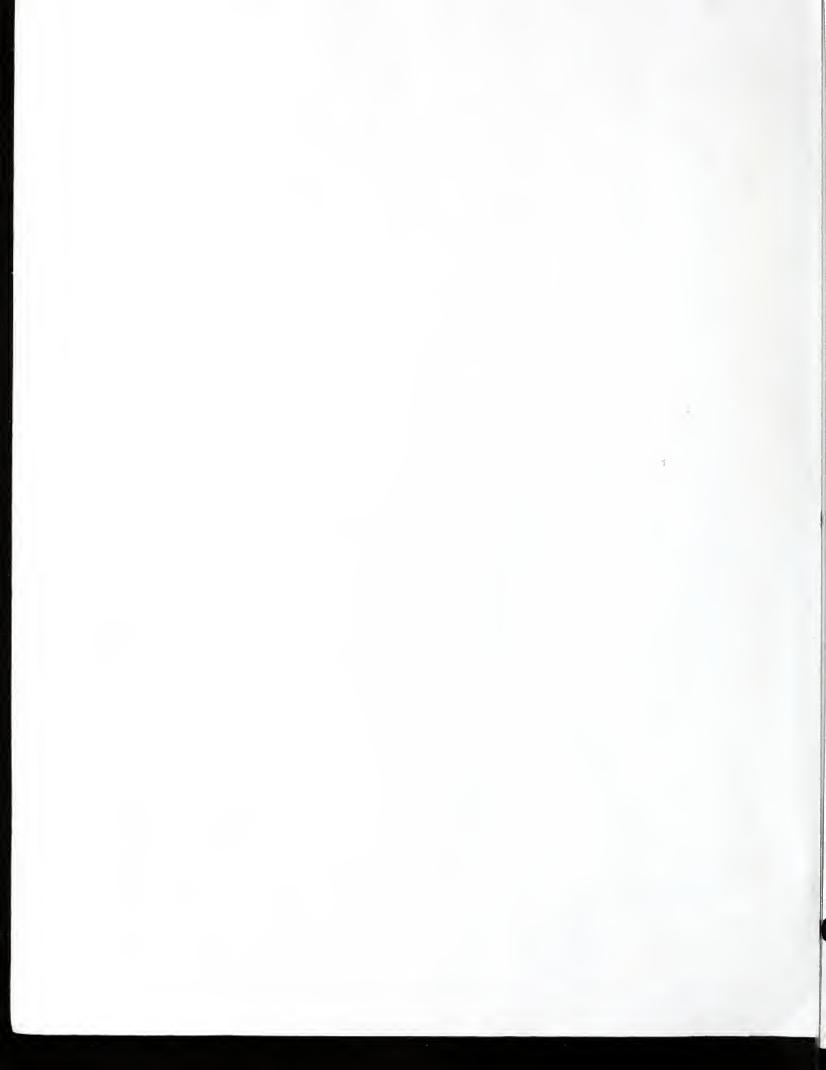
Greeneville, Tenn., is located on U. S. Highway No. 11 E and on State Highways Nos. 35, 70, 93, and 107. The tailor shop building, in which the monument office is located, is at the corner of Depot and College Streets, one block east of Main Street (U. S. Highway No. 11 E, State Routes Nos. 93 and 107). The home is located on Main Street (State Routes Nos. 35, 70, and 107), one block south of Summer Street (U. S. Highway No. 11 E). The cemetery is at the end of Monument Avenue, one block south of Main Street (State Routes Nos. 35, 70, and 107).

### FACILITIES FOR VISITORS

THE tailor shop and the cemetery are open all year. Visitors are urged to go first to the tailor shop, where there is a display of objects associated with Andrew Johnson. Arrangements may be made there to visit the home, which is equipped with furnishings used by Johnson and his family.

### Administration

Andrew Johnson National Monument is administered by the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior. All communications should be addressed to the Custodian, Andrew Johnson National Monument, Greeneville, Tenn.





# Laincoln Laore

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation . . . Dr. R. Gerald McMurtry, Editor Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Number 1517

FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

July, 1964

## Was Andrew Johnson Present at Abraham Lincoln's Deathbed?

The charge was made by the political enemies of Vice President Andrew Johnson that he did not visit Abraham Lincoln on his deathbed the fateful night of the assassination. The only member of the Cabinet who did not call was Lincoln's Secretary of State, William H. Seward He was almost fatally stabbed at the same hour Lincoln was shot, by one of John Wilkes Booth's conspirators.

Perhaps sixty-five people, at one time or another, for one reason or another, visited Lincoln while he lay upon his deathbed. These visitors were members of the family, personal friends, government officials, clergymen, doctors, soldiers, servants, politicians and curious bystanders who somehow eluded the guards.

The rumor still exists today that Johnson was so devoid of personal sympathy and so lacking in political acumen that he was guilty of this serious breech of etiquette. Many people believe this, despite the fact that the Washington Star of Saturday, April 16, 1865, mentioned the Vice President as being at the President's bedside at one time during the night following the great tragedy. However, one ingenious Lincoln biographer has explained that the Star reporter, being on the outside of the house where Lincoln died, heard or assumed that Johnson was present with the Cabinet.

Corporal James Tanner, who lost both legs at Second Bull Run, studied stenography and he was summoned

from his room next to the Peterson House where Lincoln lay dying to take stenographic notes on the first examination of the witnesses of the assassination. The assassination occurred on the evening of Good Friday, and on Easter Sunday in a letter to a friend, Tanner mentioned that the Vice President was present. Yet, confronted with anti-Johnson evidence years later (he died October 2, 1927) "Mr. Tanner subsequently came to believe, . . . that he was mistaken about Johnson's having been there."

On the other hand, it is alleged by some that Johnson did visit Lincoln's deathbed, but that "his condition and conduct were such as to increase Mrs. Lincoln's grief, and that he withdrew."

Senator William A. Stewart of Nevada, in his "Reminiscences" edited by G. R. Brown and published in the Saturday Evening Post in 1908, stated that "Andrew Johnson had been drunk a month, was 'in with the conspirators', did not know of the President's death until seven or eight o'clock next day, when Stewart, Stanton, Chief Justice Chase and Foote woke him!" Furthermore, it was alleged "that Stewart went to Johnson's rooms at the Kirkwood House, roused him from a drunken sleep, took him to the White House and Stanton sent for a tailor, a barber and a doctor". This last statement can be easily refuted as Johnson did not occupy the White House until May 25, 1865.

One Lincoln biographer had the impression that if Johnson had actually visited Lincoln's deathbed, especially in a condition of intoxication, we would have more evidence on the subject.

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Cohom In Stanton Top Man, Low Min. met.
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From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Signatures (note that of Andrew Johnson) appended to the statement "We the undersigned visited the late President Lincoln at his bedside during his last hours. We have since sat for a likeness to be used expressly in the composition of the historical painting of that event, designed hy John B. Bachelder and painted hy Alonzo Chappel." These signatures appeared in an advertising broadside for the Bachelder-Cbappel print "The Last Hours of Lincoln."



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Dr. William E. Barton who wrote The Life of Abraham Lincoln. Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1925, was of the opinion that only this picture of Lincoln's death shows Andrew Johnson present. The biographer stated (Vol. II, pages 343-344) that "He is standing alone near the head of the bed and appears to have been inserted as an afterthought." This picture is in Raymond's Life of Lincoln. The print bears the title "The Death of Ahraham Lincoln - April 15th, 1865." It was copyrighted in 1865 by Derby & Miller.

William E. Barton in his two volume biography, The Life of Abraham Lincoln, 1925, stated that "there are ten different contemporary pictures of the death of the President; only one shows Vice-President Johnson present. He is standing alone near the head of the bed and appears to have been inserted as an afterthought. The picture is in Raymond's Life of Lincoln.

This statement is not borne out by consulting the pictorial files of the Lincoln National Life Foundation. After making a study of some fifteen lithographs and



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

This photographic print entitled "Death-Bed of Lincoln - April 15, 1865" was copyrighted in 1866 by John H. Littlefield. John Goldin was the photographer and Wm. Terry the printer. Twenty-five people are shown around the deathhed of which twenty-four are identified as follows (left to right): Gov. Farwell (mentioned in this article as a friend of Andrew Johnson), Sec. McCulloch, Sec. Welles, Gen. Farnsworth, Vice-President Johnson, Judge Otto, Speaker Colfax, Dr. Stone, P. M. Gen. Dennison, Surg. C. A. Leale, Mrs. Lincoln, Maj. Jno. Hay, Robt. Lincoln, Senator Sumner, Surg. C. S. Taft. Dr. Garnes, Surg. Gen., Att. Gen. Speed, Dr. Crane, Sec. Usher, Rev. Dr. Gurley, Gen. Halleck, Gen. Auger, Sec. Stanton, and Gen. Meigs.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A photograph of a print entitled "The Death Bed of the Martyr President Abraham Lincoln - Washington, Saturday Morning, April 15th, 1865 at 22 Minutes Past 7 O'Clock." The print was published in 1865 by Currier & Ives, 152 Nassau St., New York, Eighteen people are gathered around Lincoln's death-bed and are identified as follows (left to right): Gen Halleck, Gen, Meigs, Miss Harris, Mrs. Lincoln & son, Vice-Press, Johnson, Surgeon, Mr. Colfax, Chas, Sumner, Capt. R. Lincoln, Chief Justice Chase, See, McCulloch, Surgeon, Sec. Welles, and Surgeon.

photographs of paintings of the Lincoln deathbed scene it was found that Johnson was included in more than fifty percent of them.

The most logical story of Andrew Johnson's activities during the period between the assassination and the death of Lincoln was written by former Governor Leonard J. Farwell, Wisconsin's first and only Whig chief executive. For a time Farwell resided at the Kirkwood House (now the present site of the Raleigh) where Andrew Johnson had rooms. The former Wisconsin

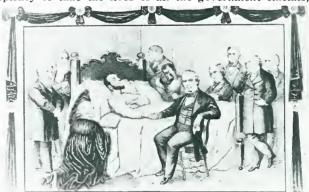


From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

This photographic print published by Alexander Gardner in 1866 is incorrectly dated April 16, 1865. Andrew Johnson is included among the twenty people depicted. The picture bears the title "The Last Moments of Lincoln."

Governor became acquainted with the Vice President and occassionally passed an evening with him. Farwell's reminiscences, now the property of the Wisconsin State Historical Society reveal that he attended Ford's Theatre on the Evening of April 14, 1865, not to see the play, "Our American Cousin," but to get a glimpse of the Sixteenth President and his party. The theatre was located two blocks from the Kirkwood House.

Immediately following the assassination the former governor believed, and rightly so, that there was a conspiracy to take the lives of all the government officials,



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A photograph of an original print bearing the title "Death Bed of Abraham Lincoln - Died April 15, 1865." All eleven persons shown around Lincoln's bedside are identified as follows (left to right): Sec. Stanton, Sec. Welles, Rev. Dr. Gurley, Surg. Gen. Barnes, Mrs. Lincoln, Robt. Lincoln. Andrew Johnson, Chas. Sumner, Sec. Dennison, Chief Justice Chase, and Sec. Usher. This print was published by J. H. Magee, 305 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Whoever drew this quaint print apparently suffered no avalues in desict ever drew this quaint print apparently suffered no qualms in depict-ing Andrew Johnson at Lincoln's deathbed.

which would include his friend the Vice President. Rushing with all possible speed to Room 68, Mr. Johnson's room, he related the tragic news. Meanwhile, guards were placed around the Kirkwood House. Momentarily Johnson was overwhelmed with the tragic news, but quickly recovering his composure, he sent Farwell on a mission to see personally both the President and Secretary Seward. This was no easy task but apparently the governor accomplished his mission and returned to report to Johnson. Thereupon, Johnson resolved to see the President himself. Buttoning up his coat and pulling his hat well down over his head, the Vice President requested Farwell to accompany him.

Meanwhile, the residence of Johnson became a focal



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A photograph of an original print bearing the title "Death of President Lincoln at Washington, D. C., April 15, 1865. The Nation's Martyr." Of the twelve persons depicted in this picture eleven are identified as follows (left to right): Chase, C. J., Sec. McCulloch, Gen. Halleck, Chas. Sumner, Sec. Stanton, Sec. Welles, Roht, Lincoln, Surgeon Gen., Mrs. Lincoln, Tad and Miss Harris. The print was published in 1865 by Currier & Ives, 152 Nassau St., New York. It is believed to be the first state of the C & 1 print which later appeared with considerable refinements and a deletion of the head of Halleck and the insertion of the head of Johnson on the same body.

point of interest and Major James R. O'Bierne, provost marshal of the District of Columbia, called at the Kirkwood House. He, along with other friends, advised Johnson not to leave his hotel because of the danger, but he was adamant. Thereupon, O'Bierne insisted on sending a detachment of troops with the Vice President, but Johnson would not listen to the suggestion. Johnson did, however, ask Major O'Bierne to accompany him and Farwell — in a sense, to lead the way.

It was about two o'clock in the morning when the future Seventeenth President arrived at Lincoln's bedside. The call, of course, was most distressing. The un-



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A photograph of an original print by Currier & Ives. This print bears the identical title to the one mentioned above. It embodies many refinements and corrections and depicts Andrew Johnson's head on the original hody of General Halleck.

conscious Lincoln could speak no word to his successor who was destined, in eight hours, to take the oath as President. At the time of Johnson's visit all the company, except the family, the Cabinet and a few friends had departed. This may account for the reason General Thomas W. Vincent and General Thomas F. Eckert positively insisted that Andrew Johnson was not at the Peterson House at any time during the night.

In all likelihood Johnson's visit may have occasioned some jealousy on the part of the family, and some fore-bodings of doom on the part of the Cabinet members who were not yet ready to see the Tennessee politician installed in the highest position of the land.

After about half an hour, Johnson left and returned to the Kirkwood House. The hour of Johnson's call is further established by the two-thirty o'clock, April 15th edition of the National Intelligencer which carried the statement that "The Vice President has been to see Lincoln. . . ." Then, too, Senator Sumner of Massachusetts wrote to John Bright that "About two P.M. the Vice President called at the dying President's bedside." The hour and date, furthermore, confirms the statement that "D. Massey, a witness talked with Andrew Johnson a



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A photograph of a painting by Ritchie depicting twenty-six people around Lincoln's deathhed. While Andrew Johnson was not included in this scene, his good friend Governor Leonard J. Farwell appears among those present. (See Key)



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Key to the Ritchie painting of Lincoln's deathbed.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A photograph of an original print bearing the title "Last Moments of President Lincoln - Washington, D. C., April 15, 1865." Of Some twenty-nine people present five are identified as (left to right): Welles, Chase, Sumner, Robt. Lincoln, Gen. Halleck and Stanton. This print bears the imprint of Buffords Print & Publishing House, 818 Washington St., Boston, Massachusetts.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A photograph of an original print bearing the title "Death of President Lincoln," and dated April 15, 1865. Of the twenty-three persons present twelve are identified as follows (left to right): Sec. Welles, J. Farnsworth, Justice S. P. Chase, Surgeon Stone, Schuyler Colfax, P. M. Gen. Dennison, Charles Sumner, Surgeon, Gen. Mead, Surgeon, Gen. Ilalleck and Secretary Stanton. This print was lithographed by Ed. Mendel of Chicago and was published by J. H. Campbell of Chicago

half-hour after he returned from the deathbed." Johnson's visit was also confirmed by both Jones and Savage who wrote biographies of the Seventeenth President.

The most convincing evidence that Andrew Johnson visited the dying Lincoln is to be found in a document



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A photograph of an original print which bears no title and does not identify those present. No one resembling Andrew Johnson appears in the picture. The print was copyrighted in 1908 by H. H. Altsehwager of Minneapolis, Minnesota.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

A photograph of the original print hearing the title "The Last Moments of Abraham Lincoln President of the United States." The twelve men are identified as follows (left to right): Dennison, Halleck, Chase, Maj. Andrews, Stanton, Sur. Gen. Barnes, Peterson, Gen. Sumner, Welles, Robt. Lincoln, Speaker Colfax, and Maj. Gen. Meade. The print dated April 15, 1865 was designed by Jos. Hoover and was printed by L. N. Rosenthal, 327 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Penn.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

The key to the painting "The Last Day of Lincoln." Several differences can be detected between the engraving and the painting, the most notable being that of Mrs. Dixon (No. 17).

signed by the President attesting to the fact. The document is in the form of a broadside advertising for sale the photographic reproduction of "The Last Hours of Lincoln", a picture designed by John B. Bachelder and painted by Alonzo Chappel.

The document states "that we the undersigned visited the late President Lincoln at his bedside during his last hours. We have since set for a likeness to be used ex-



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

The key to the engraving "The Last Hours of Lincoln" was first published as an advertisement in Isaac N. Arnold's book Sketches of the Life of Abraham Lincoln which was published by John B. Bachelder, 59 Beckman Street, New York, 1869. It is understood, of course, that all forty-seven persons present did not call at the bed-side at the same time.

pressly in the composition of the Historical Painting of the event, designed by John B. Bachelder and painted by Alonzo Chappel." Andrew Johnson's signature heads the list of forty-three names.

Bachelder arrived in Washington from New York City on the night of Lincoln's death and his design bears the date of 1865. The Chappel painting bears the date of 1868. The advertising broadside reveals, if the key to the painting is studied, that four people present did not sign the document; namely, General Henry W. Halleck, Mrs. Lincoln, Dr. Lyman Beecher Todd, her cousin, and of course, Abraham Lincoln.

Halleck was said to have been one of the few men in the room when Lincoln died. Immediately following Lincoln's death, Halleck no longer Chief of Staff, was ordered to Richmond, Virginia, to take over the department there. However, he was in Washington long enough to represent the Army at the Lincoln funeral service. Apparently, Halleck did not sit for a special photograph to be incorporated into the Chappel painting as did Andrew Johnson who has a position of honor (rocking chair) in the picture.

Why was Johnson accused of such a breach of etiquette? Why did the story circulate that the future President was too intoxicated to call at Lincoln's deathbed; that while he was "hors de combat" that he had to be slicked up to be presentable when he took the oath of President? This was nothing more than malicious elaboration of Johnson's unfortunate condition the day he was inducted into office as Vice President. This rumor was to initiate a whole series of vicious political attacks by the Radical Republicans who were trying to prevent Johnson from carrying out President Lincoln's mild and reasonable policies of reconstruction.

## SHELDON COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

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RALPH BORRESON • SUPERINTENDENT • SHELDON IOWA

August 5, 1964

Dr. Gerald R. McMurtry Lincoln National Life Foundation Fort Wayne, Indiana

Dear Dr. McMurtry:

You can be certain your July issue was read with avid interest here. It found me in the midst of comparing sources relating to persons present in the house.

Although historical accuracy was no doubt your primary objective it was good to have an important and authentic kind word for a much maligned person. No further corroboration of Johnson's presence is needed I am sure. However, I would mention an item in <a href="Atlantic Monthly">Atlantic Monthly</a>, April 1930. This is a report of conversations of Sumner and Stanton recorded by the former's secretary, Morefield Storey. I shall enclose the pertinent section.

As to Tanner he also revised his original statement as to Halleck's presence as well as that of Johnson. But his is probably still the best of the on the spot reports. Did you know he became national commander of the GAR, and that your William Daggett, <u>Lincoln Lore</u>, No. 1478, was the person who informed Stanton and Cartter of Tanner's stenographic talents?

Petersen or Peterson? is, I suppose, not a matter of world wide concern. Fred Peterson, a son, who was vague about some details when interviewed in 1913, but he most likely knew how to spell his name. This is in Chicago Historical Society Bulletin, February 1926. Dr. Warren wrote "son" way, way back in April 15, 1929 and in 1865 neighbor Daggett wrote Peterson.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Borreson Superintendent

RB/mf

Morefield Storey, DICKENS, STANTON, SUMNER, AND STOREY Atlantic Monthly, April 1930, pp. 463

(Stantow)

His/account of the scene at the bedside was the same as Mr. Sumner's. He sent for Johnson, thinking that he ought to be present, but when Mrs. Lincoln wished to come in Mr. Sumner, thinking that she ought not to see Johnson there, and knowing that she had a strong personal dislike, suggested to Mr. Stanton that he ought to go. So, said Mr. Stanton, 'I told him there was no necessity for his remaining any longer, ' and he went.



# Andrew

NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE • TENNESSEE



Andrew Johnson's life reveals his steadfast belief in democracy. Mindful of his own humble background and the struggle it involved, he respected the will of the people. To him public office represented an opportunity for service, not a means for personal gain or glory. Typical of his championship of the common man were his efforts as Governor of Tennessee to broaden the scope of public education, and, as U.S. Representative, to secure the passage of a homestead bill.

Today at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, you can see the physical surroundings in which these beliefs were shaped. The tailor shop, where he obtained much of his education while working at his trade, is now preserved within a brick building. His home, constructed after he had achieved prominence in the field of politics, is a comfortable yet modest dwelling which has withstood the ravages of time. These places illustrate that a man, no matter how humble his origin, can become President of the United States.

President Andrew Johnson poses for Matthew Brady, who is well known for his Civil War photographs.

He was an Immense worker and student, but always in the practicalities of life.... His faith in the judgment of the people was unlimited, and to their decision he was always ready to submit. One of the people by birth, he remained so by conviction.

-JEFFERSON DAVIS

Davis gave this evaluation of Johnson, the Senator, in 1865. The former President of the Confederate States had served in the U.S. Senate with Johnson.

### FROM TAILOR SHOP TO WHITE HOUSE

Andrew Johnson's success was achieved in the face of adversity. He was born in Raleigh, N.C., on December 29, 1808. His early life was marked by the hardships of poverty, and he was only 4 years old when his father died. He soon had to assume his share of the family's support, and instead of going to school, he became a tailor's apprentice. Before completing the full term of apprenticeship, however, he decided to work for himself. In 1826, he and his family moved to Greeneville, Tenn., where he soon established himself in his trade.

Take it quelty thrite ABE and fine good old UNIOH will be mended?

A few more stitches ANDY and the good old UNIOH will be mended?

The date of this cartoon is unknown, but it probably was a product of the 1864 presidential campaign. Johnson, the vice-presidential candidate, with his tailor's needle and scissors sews the Union back together with Lincoln's help

Tennessee State Library

There he met Eliza McCardle. They were married on May 17, 1827, when Johnson was 18 years old. Mordecai Lincoln, a justice of the peace and a second cousin of Abraham Lincoln, performed the ceremony.

Johnson was successful as a tailor, and within a few years he was able to buy a shop. The shop was a small frame structure, which Johnson moved to its present location. A brick building in which he lived from sometime in the 1830's until 1851 stood across the street from the shop.

To remedy his lack of education Johnson employed young men to read to him as he worked. Sometimes Eliza assisted with the reading. Although not enrolled in Greeneville College, he joined a debating society connected with the school and each week walked 4 miles to attend or take part in the debates. These weekly debates helped Johnson become a better public speaker.

Johnson's first venture into politics was in 1829 when, with the support of the workmen of the town, he was elected an alderman of Greeneville. The next year he was reelected, and in 1834 became mayor. From then on his rise was steady. He served in the lower house of the State legislature, then in the State senate. In 1843, he began the first of five consecutive terms as U.S. Representative. He was elected Governor of Tennessee in 1853 and reelected 2 years later. In 1857, when sectional controversy over slavery was nearing a climax, Johnson was elected to the Senate of the United States.

Although a Southerner and a slaveholder, Johnson stood firmly on the side of the Union. On December 18 and 19, 1860, he delivered in the Senate one of the greatest speeches of his career. Abraham Lincoln had been elected President a short time before; South Carolina was about to pass an ordinance of secession; and Southern Congressmen were urging their States to withdraw from the Union. But, from the floor of the Senate, this Tennessee Senator proclaimed his faith in the Union and insisted that the Federal Government had authority under the Constitution to execute laws within the States, and therefore a State resisting such execution "placed itself in the rebellious or nullifying attitude." As for himself, Johnson said, "I intend to stand by the Constitution as it is, insisting upon a compliance with all its guarantees.... It is the last hope of human freedom."

Johnson's refusal to follow Tennessee into secession increased his prestige in the North. During the Civil War, he became an adviser to President Lincoln on Southern affairs. A personal following of some 13,000 "Andy Johnson Democrats" promptly entered the Union Army as volunteers. After much of Tennessee had been recovered by Union military forces, Lincoln appointed Johnson as military governor with the rank of brigadier general. When the National Union Convention of 1864 was searching for a strong running mate for Lincoln, Johnson was selected. Upon Lincoln's assassination in April 1865, he succeeded to the Nation's highest office.

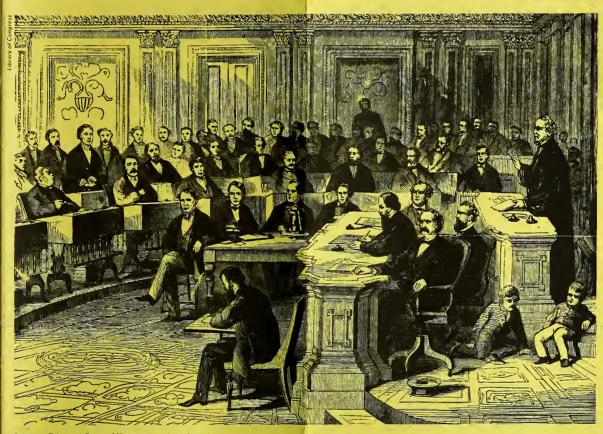
#### THE PRESIDENTIAL YEARS

Johnson was faced with the tremendous postwar program that Lincoln had only begun. Like his predecessor, Johnson held that no State could secede from the Union. Therefore, the Southern States, even though they had taken up arms, had never been out of the Union. As soon as they had ceased to resist, they could assume all the functions of government guaranteed to them by the Constitution. The program was to be accomplished through a generous and helpful attitude on the part of the Federal Government toward the South.

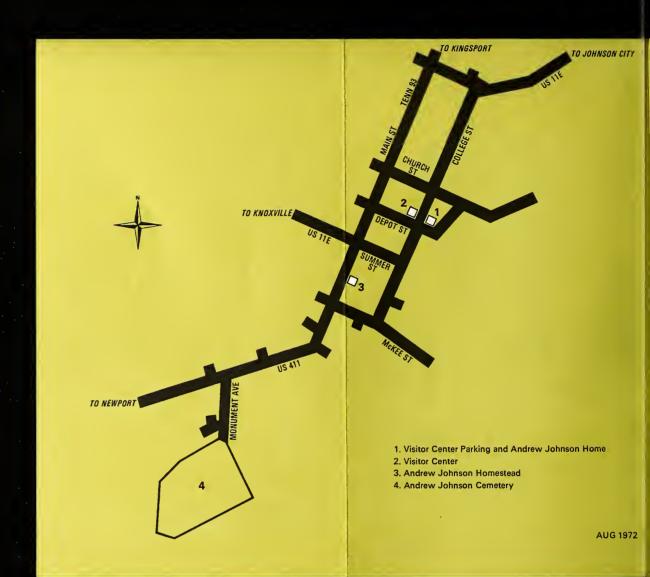
Johnson, however, lacked both Lincoln's prestige as a victorious war-President and his political finesse in handling opposition groups. His policy was soon frustrated by Congress. Seeking to regain political control of the country and to curtail the powers of the Presidency, which had increased during the war, a group of extremist Republicans in Congress, the Radicals, denied seats to newly elected representatives from the South. This move ensured Radical control of the legislative branch by preventing Southern Democrats from joining forces with Northern Democrats. The Radical influence soon extended to two-thirds, thus destroying the effect of the President's vetoes and enabling Congress to enact its own reconstruction program. Military rule of the South, enfranchisement of the Negro (in the South only), and disenfranchisement of Confederate veterans were its key features. The struggle between a resolute Executive and an equally unyielding Congress led ultimately to impeachment proceedings against Johnson. The issue was joined over the Tenure of Office Act, which limited the power of the President to remove officials whose appointments had been approved by the Senate. Johnson regarded the act as unconstitutional and, in 1867, removed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton from office. Johnson was then impeached by the House of Representatives. The trial was held before the Senate from March to May 1868. The final vote was one short of the twothirds needed for conviction. The "not guilty" vote of Senator Edmund Ross of Kansas decided the issue. He and the six other Republican Senators who voted against conviction were abandoned by their party. So strong were feelings on the issue that none ever won reelection to the Senate.

During Johnson's administration, Alaska was purchased from the Imperial Russian Government and the French were forced, by application of the Monroe Doctrine, to withdraw their support of Emperor Maximilian in Mexico.

After his Presidential term, Johnson returned to Greeneville. His interest in politics continued, and on January 26, 1,875, he was elected to the U.S. Senate, the only former President to return to Washington as Senator. He died soon afterwards, on July 31, 1875.



Senator Edmund Ross of Kansas stands at far left to vote "Not Guilty" in the impeachment proceedings against President Johnson. The wood engraving appeared in Leslie's Magazine in June 1868.







Above is Johnson's tailor shop in Greenville. It is now enclosed within the visitor center. Below is the Johnson family home which he purchased in 1851. It has been restored and is open to the public.

### **ABOUT YOUR VISIT**

The park consists of Johnson's tailor shop, his two Greeneville residences, and the cemetery in which he is buried. The park is open every day, except December 25, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

The tailor shop, which Johnson acquired in 1831, remained in the hands of his heirs until purchased by Tennessee in 1921. The State later enclosed it in a brick building. Today that building, at the corner of Depot and College Streets and 1 block east of Main Street, also houses the park's visitor center, museum, and office.

Across the street from the shop is the brick building in which Johnson lived from the 1830's until 1851. It is not yet open to the public.

Johnson purchased the two-story brick house on Main Street—1 block south of Summer Street (U.S. 11E)—in 1851 when it still was unfinished. It served as his home until he died. The Federal Government purchased it in 1941 from the Johnson heirs. Restoration was completed in 1958. This house is open to the public.

Andrew Johnson Cemetery, which is at the end of Monument Avenue and 1 block south of West Main Street, was donated to the Federal Government in 1906 by the Johnson heirs and was administered by the War Department as a national cemetery until 1942. Since then, it has been administered by the National Park Service. On the monument over Johnson's grave are these words: "His faith in the people never wavered."





# Lincoln Lore

November, 1973

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Number 1629

### A NEW LOOK AT THE IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON

Few periods of American history have changed as radically in the eyes of historians as the era of Reconstruction. Students of America's early national period can still refer to Henry Adams's nine-volume History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison (1891) as a work of major significance and usefulness, but few historians of Reconstruction cite anything written before 1940 except to refute it. "Only one event has resisted this historical reversal — the impeachment and trial of President Andrew Johnson," says historian Michael Les Benedict, and his new book, The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1973), is an attempt to extend the trend of reversal in Reconstruction historiography to the trial of Andrew Johnson.

Changes in opinion on the Negro since the Depression prompted historians to look at Reconstruction with new

eyes, but changes in opinion on the American presidency tended to exempt the effort to remove Andrew Johnson from any fresh scrutiny. The crisis atmosphere of the New Deal and the Cold War encouraged increases in the powers of the President and encouraged even historians newly sympathetic to efforts to reconstruct the South to continue seeing any attack on the powers of the presidency with a jaundiced eye. The result was historiographical anomaly: the President who did the most to frustrate Reconstruction measures was still viewed as a maligned victim of a blatantly political, short-sighted, and malicious attempt at impeachment and removal. The vote to acquit Johnson was seen (in popular history magazines like American History Illustrated, for example) as "the most HEROIC act in AMERICAN history." Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas, a Republican who broke ranks and voted to acquit the President, "sacri-



This Liftle Boy world persist in handling Books Above His Capacity.



AND THIS WAS THE DISASTROUS RESULT.

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Most historians have implied that Congress did not have a constitutional leg to stand on by picturing Andrew Johnson's impeachment and trial as an attempted radical coup. Harper's Weekly for March 21, 1868 pictured an insignificant Johnson crushed by the Constitution, thus taking at the time of the trial the opposite view. In the month's that followed, Harper's cartoons changed Johnson from a pip-squeak to a monarchial usurper.

ficed his political career to save the American system of government." John F. Kennedy chose Ross as one of

the subjects for his Profiles in Courage.

How was it that the "American system of government" became so identified with the office of the presidency that impeachment (as firmly rooted in the words of the Constitution of 1787 as the presidential office itself) could be seen only as an un-American act? One need only sample the political-scientific wisdom of the early 1960's to see why historians might have been cool to impeachment. Two popular books, for example, were Richard E. Neustadt's Presidential Power: The Politics of Leadership (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960) and James MacGregor Burns's The Deadlock of Democracy: Four-Party Politics in America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

Neustadt has been called the Machiavelli for the American Prince. Neustadt wrote a book analyzing the powers of the President because, in his words, "To make the most of power for himself a President must know what it is made of." The desire to increase presidential powers led to a lack of interest in constitutional restraints on executive power. Citing as an example of executive power President Truman's seven-week seizure of the steel mills in 1952 "without statutory sanction," Neustadt argued that one of the factors "making for compliance with a President's request is the sense that what he wants is his by right. The steelworkers assumed, as Trumants is his by high the steelworkers assumed, as Trumants is his by right. man did, that he had ample constitutional authority to seize and operate the mills." The constitutional contradiction evoked no response whatever from Neustadt.

James MacGregor Burns argued in his book that there were really four parties in America, congressional Republican and Democratic parties and presidential Republican and Democratic parties. The congressional Republicans and Democrats, elected on local issues in safe gerrymandered districts frequently in off-year elections, more in common with each other than with the presidential wing of their own parties geared for election on well-publicized national platforms in national elections. Burns pictured the congressional/presidential split as a split between small-town lawyers and big-city lawyers, independent entrepreneurs and big businessmen, state legislators and intellectuals. Burns (himself a Democrat) was more interested in weakening the congressional at the expense of the presidential party than the Republican at the expense of the Democratic party. In his single-minded zeal for the presidency, Burns revealed the same blindness to constitutional issues that Neustadt had shown. Burns's hero "must be willing to take sweeping action, no matter how controversial, and then to appeal to the electorate for a majority, as Jefferson did in 1804 after the Louisiana Purchase. . . ." At the time, Jefferson had been rather embarrassed by the whole affair. He thought himself that the action was unconstitutional because there was no provision about acquiring territory in the United States Constitution. But like Truman's act for Neustadt, Jefferson's evoked little comment from Burns except his saying that the Louisiana Purchase was "magnificently vindicated in history." Burns and Neustadt were intent on increasing presidential power, constitutional balance was their enemy, and constitutional scruple never occurred to them.

In such an atmosphere as that of the era of Neustadt and Burns, no one was likely to view a major congressionl effort to limit the actions of an executive as a vital subject for historical investigation. It is little wonder that, as Benedict points out, there has been only one moderately detailed treatment of Johnson's impeachment, and that was done seventy years ago. But Benedict was the student of a legal and constitutional historian (Harold M. Hyman) and was trained to investigate those very issues which seemed like non-issues to Burns and Neu-

The major revisionist point of Benedict's book is simple: "To a large extent, the prejudicial view of impeachment most historians have adopted is based on impeachment most historians have adopted is based on the mistaken notion that government officials can be impeached only for actual criminal offenses indictable in regular courts. However, numerous studies of im-peachment have contradicted this widely held convic-tion, sustaining the position adopted by the more radical Republicans during the crisis." Others, like historian Republicans during the crisis." Others, like historian Gaddis Smith, disagree and assert that a President's "high crimes and misdemeanors" must be essentially crimes and high ones at that to merit impeachment (see "The American Way of Impeachment," New York Times Magazine, May 27, 1973, page 53). In fact, it matters little for the purposes of his book whether Benedict is right about the abstract meaning of impeachment or not, and his claims to constitutional infallibility seem out of place in a history book. What is important is the historical meaning of impeachment in 1868. Fortunately, Benedict does make a case in regard to the common understanding of impeachment in 1868; it rests on these

three points:

(1) English legal precedents were of little weight because in England any citizen could be impeached by the legislature; confining impeachment to indictable crimes in England was a protection of individual citizens' liberties from the government. In America, impeachment was applicable only to office holders (and specifically forbidden by the Constitution from use against private citizens) and was meant itself as a protection of the citizens from the government. In England, impeachment was meant to punish crime, and the criminal could be sentenced to death by the House of Lords. In America, impeachment could lead only to removal from office and permanent disqualification from office-holding.

(2) American precedents were few and far between, and they were mixed in import. On the one hand, the House of Representatives "had limited its accusations to indictable crimes in at most one of the five impeachments it had presented to the Senate before 1867. the other hand, the Senate had decided innocence of the House's charges in two cases because none of the articles of impeachment named an indictable crime. On one occasion, however, the Senate had removed a judge for drunkenness and profanity in the courtroom, rather than

for indictable crimes.

(3) With English experience clearly irrelevant and the relevant American precedents simply unclear in meaning, Americans in 1868 had to rely on the constitutional commentators and theoreticians of the day. Here Benedict points to the key historical factor, "the unanimity with which the great American constitutional commentators had upheld the broad view of the impeachment power." "Story, Duer, Kent, Rawle, and the authors of *The Federalist*," says Benedict, "... recognized that the danger to liberty and the efficient workings of government lay not in the possibility that the president or lesser executive officers might act illegally, but rather that they might a thought the present the Constitution. but rather that they might abuse the powers the Constitution had delegated to them."

The latter point is crucial. If it was conventional legal and constitutional wisdom to believe presidents impeachable for abuse of powers constitutionally granted, then impeachment for actions short of indictable crimes was not necessarily a radical act. Thus the so-called Radicals of what used to be called "Radical Reconstruction" were not radical at all in constitutional matters. The constitutional wisdom of Kent and Story has been called many things, but never, one imagines, "radical."

Benedict marshals much more evidence to prove that impeachment was, like much of the rest of "Radical Re-construction," really the result of compromises which pleased Republican moderates (and gained their support) and of intransigent opposition from Andrew Johnson. In many ways, this evidence constitutes the most persuasive

part of the book.

Gaddis Smith in the article mentioned above sets the stage for his discussion of the Johnson impeachment episode by saying that the "Radical Republicans . . . gained full control of Congress after the 1866 elections." He implies that everything that followed impeachment — was a radical move. In fact, the House's impeachment resolution did not follow a Radical capture of the House in 1866 but rather a sound thrashing of the Radicals in the 1867 elections. The Republican party, on record as favoring impartial suffrage and on the ballot in three Northern states with proposals to eliminate white-only constitutional restrictions on the franchise, lost votes in practically every state. The Republican vote in Massachusetts, for example, dropped from 77 per cent (1866) to 58 per cent (1867), and in Maryland from 40 per cent to 25 per cent. The Democrats took California by arguing that Republican policies would lead to enfranchising orientals. They took Ohio's state legislature too, thus blasting the presidential hopes of Ohio's Radical Republican Senator Benjamin F. Wade. For the fence-



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Two weeks before the cartoon pictured on page one, *Harper's* had drawn a more sinister Johnson carrying plans for a "coup d'etat" in his hands. The congressional cannon which Edwin M. Stanton and Ulysses S. Grant aim at Johnson is loaded with cannonballs labeled "constitution." Johnson's attempts to use the patronage to help not the Republican party but a personal following may have caused some Republicans to fear a *coup d'etat* by the President.

sitting Republican politician, the message was clear: he had better moderate his policies in the direction of the Democrats. And it was the fence-sitters who counted, for the movement to impeach had been stopped totally by conservative votes in the July, 1867 session of Congress. The impeachment resolution did not pass until February, 1868, when the fence-sitters joined the Radicals because Johnson had openly violated a law, the Tenure of Office Act

Act.

That the key voters awaited Johnson's overt violation of a law is, to be sure, further proof of Republican moderation on impeachment. Yet it is not a little disruptive of Benedict's argument concerning the mid-century legal understanding of impeachment that so many Republican congressmen — who surely must have gained their legal understanding from the same constitutional commentators the others read — awaited an indictable crime. Benedict chooses not to wrestle with this anomaly, but it could be resolved easily if Benedict confined his argument to proving that impeachment was a moderate move rather than that it was also legitimate or right one. The impeachment resolutions themselves were clearly the result of a compromise and not of a radical coup, for they cited both indictable crime and vaguer political abuses.

cited both indictable crime and vaguer political abuses. Gaddis Smith cites Benedict's study of Johnson's presidential actions as though it were new evidence of illegal and therefore impeachable acts, but for Benedict it is important only to set the scene for impeachment. He is not trying to find other illegal things for which Johnson could have been indicted, because he does not believe he needs to. Impeachment, he feels, was widely understood as a remedy for abuse of constitutional powers the President did have. All Benedict wants to show is that impeachment was a part of Reconstruction politics and not an embarrassing sideshow or a separate factional power play.

In delineating the Reconstruction context of impeachment, Benedict is again very effective. Largely through his unqualified right to pardon and through his natural powers to enforce the laws of Congress as he chose, President Johnson almost single-handedly dismantled Congress's Reconstruction program. He ignored the Test Oath Act and appointed former Confederates as provisional governors in several states. Treasury Secretary Hugh McCulloch (a hold-over Lincoln appointee) ignored the law also by appointing men who could not take the loyalty oath to Treasury jobs in the South (Reconstruction, as it had been initiated by President Lincoln in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana had been built around provisional governors and federal appointees who had always been loyal to the Union). Attorney General James Speed (another Lincoln hold-over) halted proceedings to sell confiscated lands in Florida and Virginia despite the intent of Congress's Confiscation Act. Despite the Freedmen's Bureau Bill establishing Freedmen's Bureau Courts (which were a form of military commission), Johnson proclaimed an end to trials by military commission where civil courts were in operation. The difference, of course, was that the civil courts were local and Southern; the military courts were federal and Northern. A freedman could anticipate very different treatment in the one rather than the other. This is Benedict's conclusion: ". . . within a year of Andrew Johnson's elevation to the presidency, the preliminary Reconstruction program enacted by Congress lay in utter ruin. In pursuing his own policy, Johnson had destroyed it, without violating a law, using only his con-stitutional powers as president of the United States." Such obstruction brought confrontation.

Benedict is also very effective in reminding us of what we should have suspected but nonetheless ignored during the long years of executive ascendancy since the New

Deal. It was not necessarily abstract political-scientific views of the nature of the presidency but practical politics that dictated much of the outcome of the impeachment movement. High-minded regard for constitutional checks and balances might have dictated one course for congressmen; practical politics reminded them to think first of who would in fact occupy the office next were Johnson actually removed. Since there was no vicepresident, that honor would have fallen to Benjamin Wade, the president pro tempore of the Senate. Wade was a friend of a high protective tariff and an enemy of Hugh McCulloch's policy of contracting the currency inflated by Civil War greenback financing. Wade was therefore persona non grata to the hard-money, free-trade wing of the Republican party. The prospect of President Wade was as powerful a deterrent to impeachment as the prospect of a weakened presidency. To remember this is to put in proper perspective those history books which see only the votes for conviction as politically

Moreover, conservative Republicans opposed Wade's succession for party as well as factional reasons. To launch a man of such well-known economic convictions to the leadership of the party would be to split a party made up of former free-trading Democrats and former hightariff Whigs by focusing on the issues that divided the party rather than the issues (loyalty of returning governments and safety of the freedmen) which united it. Such worries were exacerbated by rumors that Wade would appoint E. B. Ward, a leading opponent of contraction of the currency, as Secretary of the Treasury and Benjamin Butler as Secretary of State. Moreover, other votes to acquit were at least as thoroughly motivated by politics. The Democrats and Johnson conservatives who "would under no circumstances have voted to remove the President and turn the office over to the Republicans" were in fact "more consistently antipathetic to the entire proceeding that even the most hostile Republicans.

Accusing only one side of political motivation (rather than seeking to identify the political content of the beliefs of both those in favor of acquittal and those in favor of conviction) ignores too many stubborn facts. For example, more than half of the House Republicans who voted for impeachment had refused to do so at some time in the past. The impeachment resolution had failed previously before it passed in February, 1868, when the moderates joined the Radicals because Johnson had openly violated a law. Senator Edmunds had voted against a resolution declaring that the President had acted contrary to law in removing Secretary of War Stanton from office. But he decided Johnson was guilty, so voted in the end, and said that had Wade not been president pro tem of the Senate, moderates like William Pitt Fessenden would have reached the same conclusion. In other words, some men were simply convinced by the lawyers' arguments during the trial, as any juror might be.

In the end Benedict's revisionist point of view brings new relevance to the actual proceedings and arguments at Johnson's trial. Some of these arguments persuaded some men how to vote. Many of the arguments, as Benedict outlines them, were powerful. Was the Senate a court bound by the rules, precedents, and technicalities of the common law, or were the Senators, as Benjamin Butler (one of the managers of the prosecution's case) put it, "a law unto yourselves, bound only by the natural principles of equity and justice . . ."? The common law risked the escape of the guilty in order to protect the rights of the innocent; in the long run the risk was better for society as a whole. Was society as a whole better served by risking the escape of the guilty in impeachment proceedings where the guilty had such great powers they could affect the life of every member of society? Had Johnson violated a law or violated an unconstitutional law which was null? When the prosecutors tried to answer that question, they undermined their own case. To argue about it was to show that the President, right or wrong in his actions, had done something about which there could be argument. He had made a mistake, perhaps, but a mistake is not a criminal act because it does not show criminal intent. Granted a President could not be the sole person to decide whether a law was constitutional and therefore to be enforced

by the executive, was it not the case that the President could disobey a law (in order to bring a case before the Supreme Court) which limited his authority and thus left only the President himself with an interest in challenging it? The questions were complicated, the arguments by the lawyers were of high quality, and there were many more issues than these, questions of fact, questions of admissibility of evidence, and other questions of law. The lawyers did not treat the case as though its outcome was predetermined by political prejudice.

Benedict's analysis of the votes in the Johnson verdict may surprise the reader, but that and many other pleasant surprises await the reader of The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson. It is a good book, it argues persuasively, it is on the whole well written, and its subject is long overdue for study. It is to be regretted, however, that the book lacks a leisurely pace. On page 143, for example, Benedict says: "There were numerous minor elements in the House's case for impeachment, and a complete analysis of them would require a longer monograph than I have undertaken here. Nonetheless, that is a job that needs doing." Then why, I was at first tempted to say, did you not do the job yourself? The answer (in many similar cases at least) is that the infexible demands for publication for tenure (and publishers' demands on book length) tend to put a premium on the sort of book that takes two or three years to write and research and to make the book that is ten or twelve years in the writing a liability to one's career. To blame Benedict for cutting short the effort would be to blame a victim for the system that victimizes.

A fault which can be traced to the author, however, is a certain lack of balance in the book. I do not mean that his case is too one-sided, for when one is fighting seventy years of American historiography and an orthodoxy of the sort championed by James MacGregor Burns and Richard Neustadt, one need not bend over backwards to present the case for the other side. The other side's case is all we have heard for years; we all know it by heart whether we have read a book on Andrew Johnson or not. The lack of balance to which I refer is the failure to give the proper weight to the more important strands of his own argument. If the "prejudicial view of impeachment" stems from "the mistaken notion that government officials can be impeached only for actual criminal offenses indictable in regular courts," then Benedict's whole effort at revision rests on proof that this is not the case, or rather, that such was not necessarily the belief of everyone in the nineteenth century. Yet when Benedict makes his case on this crucial point, we get the same hurried rush through the evidence.

It is crucial to Benedict's case to prove "the unanimity with which the great American constitutional commentators had upheld the broad view of the impeachment power." Yet his proof consists of a quotation from a constitutional commentator, John Norton Pomeroy, whose book was copyrighted the year of Johnson's impeachment. There is a quote also from William Rawle, but the opinions of Kent and Story are not quoted or even paraphrased; they are merely page numbers in a footnote.

It would have been much more convincing to render a more leisurely treatment of the historic views of the impeachment power even if it had to come at the expense of the several tables and charts of votes that dot the book but do not add immensely to the argument (partly because they are rather poorly placed and lack an easy-to-follow legend to explain their import). In this case, argumentative power was sacrificed to book size and to the fashionableness of modern voting analysis.

I do not mean to intimate, however, that the book is a brief written for the current moment or even a book written because the subject is timely. Such is clearly not the case. The scholarly tone and the massive documentation are proof that the book was in the works long before impeachment became a subject for television discussions. If that is not proof enough, then an explanatory blurb on Professor Benedict that appeared in the December, 1972 issue of Civil War History is certainly proof, for he is there described already as the author of "a forthcoming volume, The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson." It is a volume worth reading now, to be sure, but it is also a volume that will be read by historians of Reconstruction for years to come.

### The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson: Recent Articles

Michael Les Benedict, the author of the book on the Michael Les Benedict, the author of the book on the impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson reviewed in the *Lincoln Lore* for November, 1973, published "A New Look at the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson" in the *Political Science Quarterly* for September, 1973. The article discusses only the impeachment (not the trial) and is written more for the student of law or government. ment interested in the event as a precedent than for the

ment interested in the event as a precedent than for the student of Reconstruction history.

Stanley I. Kutler, himself the author of a book on Judicial Power and Reconstruction Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), reviews Benedict's book in the issue of Reviews in American History for December, 1973. Kutler uses Benedict's book to counter the argument of Raoul Berger's Impeachment: The Constitutional Problems (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973). It is Berger's contention that impeachment should be subject to judicial review. Berger, the lawyer. should be subject to judicial review. Berger, the lawyer, has more faith in judges than Benedict and Kutler, the historians. Berger's distrust of legislators is based on the old-fashioned view of Andrew Johnson's impeachment as the result of political vindictiveness. Yet Berger's own book argues that impeachment need not be confined to cases of indictable criminal action. He fails to make the logical leap that Benedict did. Reasoning that the legislators did not ignore constitutional restraint, Benedict could reevaluate the whole story of Johnson's impeachment.

The Congressional elections of 1866 and 1867 figure prominently in any estimate of Reconstruction politics and Andrew Johnson's presidency. Benedict stressed the election of 1867 in his book. Lawrence N. Powell gives a refreshing look at the "Rejected Republican Incumbents in the 1866 Congressional Nominating Conventions" in the September, 1973 issue of Civil War History. Powell shows that traditional election practices such as the rotation of candidates in accordance with their residence in two- or three-county Congressional districts caused many elections to turn on issues other than ones involving national Reconstruction. He thus challenges the assumption that the 1866 election was a radical sweep, even suggesting that in many cases candidates were rejected regardless of their stance on Reconstruc-

Since Richard E. Neustadt's work was mentioned in the historiographical introduction to the Lincoln Lore article on Johnson's impeachment, perhaps his most recent work deserves notice. In *The New York Times Magazine* of October 14, 1973, Neustadt reconsiders presidential power in an article entitled "The Constraining of the President."



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

The Declaration of Independence rejected the rule of a monarch, and Americans ever since have pictured Presidents who seem to exceed their official powers as kings. Thomas Nast drew Andrew Johnson as King Richard III for the Harper's Weekly of July 25, 1868. Johnson was made to appear as Shakespeare's despot searching for any horse to ride to power, whether it be a Republican, Democratic, or Conservative horse. The cartoon appeared after the Democratic Convention of 1868 nominated Horatio Seymour to run for the presidency.

## THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE Department of History 1101 McClung Tower Knoxville, Tennessee 37916 July 20, 1977 Phone 615/974-5421 offrere

Mr. Mark K. Stone Olney High School Front & Duncannon Philadelphia, PA

19120

Dear Mr. Stone:

Thank you for your letter of July 7th in which you inquire concerning the status of Andrew Johnson as a slaveholder.

There is no question that he did have slaves, though there is considerable uncertainty as to the precise number at any one time. A manservant who lived to a ripe old age in Greeneville was certainly among them. If you were to look in our volumes of the Johnson Papers you would find reference to several female slaves. And the original census records reveal him as a slaveholder.

In his speeches during the war years, he often refers to the fact of being a slaveholder; in fact, just the other day I was reading one given in Nashville on July Fourth, 1862, in which he flatly declared that he was a slaveholder, but if it were to come to a choice between the Union and giving up his slaves, he would without question give up the slaves. I might point out, however, that until well on into the Civil War, he and others were not at all convinced that the preservation of the Union necessarily meant the destruction of slavery. Incidentally, there is no reason to believe that slaves were necessary in East Tennessee because of a shortage of white labor. They simply reflect a use of an available labor supply.

I hope that above comments will be of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

LPG/sm

xervy for cors file August 3, 1977 Mr. Mærk K. Stone Olney High School Front & Dunnannon Philadelphia, PA 19120 Dear Mr. Stone: Thank you very much for sending us the informative letter of Professor Graf. I am sure we will be asked this question again, and we shall be sure to place a copy of the letter in our file on Andrew Johnson. I know that I shall never forget the answer; one never does when one learns it the hard way. Sincerely yours, Mark E. Neely, Jr. MEN/slm

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## Lincoln Lore

March, 1979

Bulletín of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Líbrary and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Edítor. Mary Jane Hubler, Edítoríal Assistant. Published each month by the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1693

#### PEYTON McCRARY ON LINCOLN'S LOUISIANA EXPERIMENT: A REVIEW

The capture of New Orleans by Commodore David Glasgow Farragut on April 25, 1862 gave the North a pleasing taste of victory and gave the Lincoln administration an opportunity to test the depths of Confederate sentiment in a state of the lower South. To judge from the fact that Federal troops occupied the state for fifteen years thereafter, one

would have to say that the sentiment ran very deep in-deed. Professor Peyton Mc-Crary's book, Abraham Lincoln and Reconstruction: The Louisiana Experiment (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978) agrees that the sentiment was strong but argues that the opportunity to use white Southern dissidents and Negroes as a base upon which to build a viable party to revolutionize that sentiment was missed. He lays most of the blame for missing the opportunity on General Nathaniel P. Banks and not on the man who chose him to reconstruct Louisiana, Abraham Lincoln.

Chapter VI is the crucial one for Lincoln students. Reconstructing Louisiana would be no more difficult than "the passage of a dog law in Massachusetts," General Nathaniel P. Banks, military commander of the Department of the Gulf, informed President Lincoln in one of the extreme political understatements of American history. Anxious for speedy action towards reconstruction in occupied Louisiana, disgusted with the slow progress to date, and impressed with Bank's extravagant promises of quick results, Lincoln wrote the general on Christmas Eve, 1863, to make him "master of all" in giving "us a free-state reorganization of Louisiana in the shortest possible time. No longer would jurisdictional disputes between the military governor, George F. Shepley, and the commander of the military district, Banks, slow the reconstruction process. Lincoln could not have been much impressed, either, with the work of the local radical white movement for reconstruction led by the Free State General Committee. They had been fumbling along with Shepley to organize elections for a constitutional convention in Louisiana, and Banks would presumably be their master

too. However, Lincoln did state carefully that Banks was not "to throw away available work already done for reconstruction," and the Free State Committee had been doing much of that work.

The immediate back-

ground of Lincoln's letter to Banks was the visit to Washington of two Louisiana conservatives, Thomas Cottman and James Riddell. These men led a movement opposed to Negro suffrage, and they argued that oc-cupied Louisiana would likely be willing to return to the Union under the provisions of the President's recent Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction (December 8, 1863) and thus recognize emancipation — if "they could come back to civil government under their [existing] constitution and laws." In other words, they feared the movement of the Free State Committee, which was beginning to show itself willing to cooperate with elite Negro groups in Louisiana, to draw up a new state constitution before electing a new government for the state and presenting the state to Congress for readmission to the Union. The old state constitution, of course, restricted voting to whites only. They told Lincoln that Louisiana's citizens would not accept a government reconstructed with Negro votes. The day before Lincoln wrote his letter giving Banks exclusive control of the situation, Riddell wrote the general to tell him that the President would soon send a letter authorizing him to take control.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. General Nathaniel P. Banks.



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 2. Lincoln is depicted as the impossible idealist Don Quixote in this political cartoon by the brilliant Copperhead etcher, Adalbert Johann Volck. Benjamin F. Butler makes an excellent Sancho Panza, ironically rooting Lincoln's idealism in the earthy character of this cockeyed general reputed to have stolen silverware from the mansions of occupied New Orleans (note the knife stuck in his belt). Butler, who incurred Volck's talented wrath when he commanded Federal forces in the cartoonist's beloved Maryland, went on to command Federal forces in occupied New Orleans and to become a favorite target of Volck's savage wit. The artist wrote and illustrated the Life and Adventures of B. F. B. (Bombastes Furioso Buncombe), The Warrior, Sage and Philanthropist, A Christmas Story in 1862 and reissued it with slight changes in 1868 as The American Cyclops, The Hero of New Orleans and Spoiler of Silver Spoons. Butler's sensational actions in New Orleans did much to focus national attention on events in Louisiana. This fine example of Volck's work is a recent acquisition of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum and joins a rare set of his pro-Confederate etchings.

General Banks then lied to Lincoln, or at least neglected to tell him the whole truth. On December 30, 1863, he told the President that his own scheme - which, by design or by coincidence, was like the scheme suggested by Riddell and Cottman — would work faster than that of the Free State Committee. Banks said that the election called for by that Committee  $\,$ could not be held until March; he did not tell him that they were calling for elections on January 25th. McCrary considers this deception important for explaining Lincoln's shift

in reconstruction policy for Louisiana.

McCrary points out still another important change in the Louisiana situation. George Denison, a Treasury agent in New Orleans appointed by Salmon P. Chase, had given up his opposition to Banks's policies in the state by the time Lincoln turned the Louisiana operation over to Banks. The general could now count on the cooperation of this powerful Treasury Department presence in the state, but the price of Denison's support — as an intermediary between Denison and Banks, B. Rush Plumly, told Chase — had been a promise by Banks to deliver reconstructed Louisiana's delegates to the Republican Presidential nominating convention in 1864 to Chase rather than President Lincoln. Of all this, of course, Lincoln was pro-foundly ignorant, as all historians have been since. Denison personally carried Banks's deceptive letter to Lincoln in Washington.

McCrary's is certainly the best account of the origins of reconstruction policy in Louisiana in 1863-1864, but, even so,

its meaning is not as clear as McCrary seems to think it is. To him it seems that Banks had engineered a "coup," altering the radical direction of Louisiana politics under the Free State Committee's leadership and forcing Lincoln to move in a more moderate direction led by General Banks. McCrary attributes the general's motivation to political ambition. An outsider could more quickly organize a few candidates for a state government than he could a hundred delegates for a constitutional convention, and a speedy restoration of the state would be a political achievement helpful to his dark-horse chances for a Presidential nomination in 1864. Moreover, McCrary claims, "Banks' ideological differences with the radicals centered on the question of Negro suffrage, which he feared would antagonize many potential supporters of the free state movement." Lincoln's "motivation... in throwing power into the general's hands" is "not entirely clear" to McCrary, but he stresses that "Banks had deceived him about the situation: the President did not know that the radicals were ready to hold an election within a month." On the other hand, McCrary admits, "Lincoln may have shared the general's reluctance to countenance Negro suffrage in Louisiana for fear of antagonizing conservative opinion.

McCrary makes a great advance over the existing literature on the subject, but he somewhat overstates his case. He can prove "deception" — a powerful word in swaying the reader's sentiments — only in the case of the timing of Banks's election as opposed to that called for by the Free State Committee. Yet that deception occurred after Lincoln had given control to Banks on the 24th; Banks's letter about election dates was dated the 30th. Otherwise, Banks's campaign to secure control of Louisiana politics had been based on oversanguine predictions and a braggart's inflation of his own abilities, but the election dates provide the crucial case for deception - and they could have nothing to do with Lin-

coln's decision to make Banks "master of all."
The true origins of Lincoln's shift to Banks in Louisiana lay in the visit of Cottman and Riddell. The latter's letter of December 23, 1863 accurately predicted what Lincoln's letter of December 24, 1863 would do: give the authority to Banks. The Louisiana conservatives had also given the President an earful of arguments proving that Louisiana would never swallow a reconstruction brought about even in part by Negro votes. Nor does it seem fair to call Banks's view that Negro suffrage would block acceptance of any new Louisiana government an "ideological" difference from the Free State Committee. It was a tactical one, a practical one, a question of means rather than of ends. The use of the word "ideological," however, tends to conjure up in the reader's mind a frothingmouthed ideologue of racial hatred.

There can be no blinking this chronology away, and it is ironic that so gifted a narrative historian would do so. It is especially ironic because McCrary's conclusion stresses the importance of the "precise chronology of events" in December of 1863. To be sure, much of the chronology points to the accuracy of McCrary's conclusions, and it is only fair to quote

the fuller chronology here:

A major turning point in wartime reconstruction occurred in December 1863, when General Banks decided to seize control of the reorganization of civil government in Louisiana. . . . The general asked Lincoln to grant him full authority over reconstruction on December 6, before learning of the President's ten-percent proclamation - but after Durant [leader of the Free State Committee] had openly advocated the limited enfranchisement of blacks. Lincoln's proclamation was delivered to Congress, moveover, before he received Banks' request; nothing in the document necessitated the substitution of Banks' new plan for a continuation of the existing program of reorganizing civil government through a constitutional convention. The sole issue involved was Lincoln's impatience with the slow pace of voter registration, which Banks attributed to the incompetence of Shepley and Attorney General Durant. In none of his correspondence with the President did Banks mention the controversial issue of Negro suffrage; nor did Lincoln comment on the question when authorizing the general to take charge of reconstruction, even though representatives of the sugar planters had just told him in his White House office that Durant was already registering the free men of color. The President's instructions to Banks on December 24 did not preclude the adoption of Negro suffrage; in fact, they suggested that the general continue to work with the leaders of the Union Association. It was Banks' idea to throw down

the gauntlet to the New Orleans radicals and offer the full weight of military influence and patronage to the moderate

minority within the Union Association.

Making Banks the active source of change in policy from radical to moderate is a bit less convincing than McCrary's interesting proof that Lincoln did not shift to Banks in order to keep Louisiana from falling into the hands of radicals who would support Chase for the Presidency. Ironically, it was Chase's man Denison, who carried Banks's deceptive letter to Lincoln, and Denison's willingness to work with Banks to get Louisiana's delegates for Chase surely discredits the old view of Lincoln's shift in Louisiana as a shift away from Chase. In fact, one of McCrary's most valuable contributions is to show the unity of the Free State movement before Banks took over; Banks's policies created a factional split in 1864.

McCrary's emphasis on the passage in Lincoln's letter to Banks which cautioned him against throwing away existing work towards reconstruction seems very proper. When Denison brought Banks's letter to Lincoln, what a vision of unity

in Louisiana Lincoln must have seen!

McCrary is at his best in showing that Andrew Johnson, when he assumed the Presidency after Lincoln's assassination, completely reversed the policies of his predecessor. Lincoln had created a moderate regime led by Banks's favorite, Governor Michael Hahn. When Hahn resigned to run for the United States Senate, Madison Wells assumed the office. He very quickly executed a conservative coup, replacing the mayor of New Orleans with a man who in turn replaced most of the local officials with conservatives and returning Confederate veterans. Wells himself appointed former Confederate Major Paul Théard as judge and filled other offices with conservatives, planters, and ex-Confederates. Even General Beauregard was expecting an appointment. Banks returned from Washington as military commander and quick-



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Musuem

FIGURE 3. General P. G. T. Beauregard.

ly confronted Wells. The Governor asked President Johnson to give him Banks's powers. Banks halted Wells's removals, replacing the new mayor of New Orleans with a former captain of a Negro regiment. Wells demanded that the President intervene, and on May 17, 1865, Johnson deprived Banks of command. Johnson sustained Wells's reorganization of the state completely. Lincoln may have failed to bring about a revolution in Louisiana politics and society, but Andrew Johnson certainly brought about a counterrevolution against the moderate Banks-Lincoln government. McCrary states it very well: "When Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency in 1865 he pursued a reconstruction policy antithetical to that of his predecessor, if viewed in terms of its impact on the party system rather than in light of superficial constitutional similarities." Of this there can be no doubt.

Lincoln students will also find in McCrary's book the best treatment in print of Lincoln's last speech. Delivered from the torchlit balcony of the White House on the night of April 11, 1865, Lincoln's speech, McCrary says, "made a less favorable impression when delivered than when read in the morning newspaper." The speech dealt "almost exclusively with events in Louisiana." Significantly, Lincoln had asked Senator Charles Sumner, radical critic of his Louisiana policies, to appear with him on the balcony while he gave the speech. Sumner declined, but McCrary notes acutely that Lincoln did not ask Banks to appear, though Banks was in town and had been lobbying for Lincoln's Louisiana government and had been looking for Elicon's Louisiana government for months. Lincoln defended his commitment to the moderate government of Michael Hahn, "but as bad promises are better broken than kept," he said fairly, "I shall treat this as a bad promise, and break it, whenever I shall be convinced that keeping it is adverse to the public interest." He concluded with those mysterious words which have puzzled and titillated historians for over a hundreds years: ". . . it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South "McCraw's view is that I are not to the people of the South." McCrary's view is that Lincoln was most likely to announce that he would institute a more radical reconstruction policy.

There are many insights, too, that are tangential to the Lincoln theme. I know no better treatment, for example, of General Benjamin F. Butler's decision to use Negro troops in Louisiana. In the spring and summer of 1862, General Butler was embroiled in a feud with General John W. Phelps over contraband Negroes in occupied Louisiana. Picturing himself in his autobiography as a radical in advance of his times on this question, Butler has recently been attacked as a conservative opponent of Phelps's schemes to arm free Negroes in Louisiana. McCrary shows that Butler was an opportunist and that the real impetus to arm free Negroes in Louisiana came from the administration to a reflective and vacillating General Butler, who was neither radical nor conservative in this instance. Butler acted the part of the good soldier awaiting orders. The "President of the United States alone," he told Phelps, "has the authority to employ Africans in arms as part of the military forces." Without actually praising Phelps's attempts to arm Louisiana Negroes, Lincoln answered complaints from white Louisianans by telling them they could rid themselves of Phelps by making the state loyal to the Union again. Significantly, he entrusted responses to Butler on the question to Salmon Chase, who advocated arming Negroes. On July 31, 1862, Chase told Butler, "I have heard intimations from the President that it may possibly become necessary, . . . to convert the heavy black population . . . into defenders." Butler had been ambivalent before. He struggled with Phelps because of orders from superiors and not because of personal disapproval of radical policies. His own views were ambivalent but thoughtful. Phelps seemed at times to be stirring up trouble among the blacks. Butler expressed fear of "a negro insurrection," but commented blandly: "... the negroes are getting saucy and troublesome, and who blames them?" Later he would make a similar remark to his wife: "We have danger here of an negro insurrection. I hardly know whether to wish it or fear it most.' George Denison told Chase that Butler's opposition to Phelps "was not a matter of principle." Butler simply "wanted the

credit of doing it himself, and in his own way."

To focus on sections of the book of most interest to Lincoln students is to give an unbalanced picture of McCrary's work. It is masterful in its sweep. The early chapter on Louisian before the Union occupation is a model of social and political landscape-painting. He is able to benefit from the statistical tools of the modern political historian, but his extremely skill-

ful use of printed and manuscript sources — especially his sensitive use of articulate diaries — allows him to render his findings in a most fluent and readable prose. He understands the nature of political parties. Above all, he is steeped in knowledge of Louisiana history.

McCrary's thesis, which stresses the potential for social change in Louisiana offered by the Federal army, is sustained by his finely textured narrative of Louisiana history only in part. Here is his fullest statement of the case:

In terms of political survival, then, "Mr. Lincoln's model of reconstruction" proved a failure. Indeed, as long as President Lincoln stuck to the moderate strategy of party building employed by General Banks, it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise. The general's assumption that a conciliatory approach would win the support of a majority of the white population contradicted the elemental political arithmetic of Louisiana and defied what might be called the central rule of any civil war: the irreconcilability of insurgents and incumbents. The polarization between left and right that leads to the outbreak of a revolutionary civil war is not "resolved" by the conclusion of armed struggle, except to the degree that the victors are able to force their ideological will upon the losers through the application of governmental power. . . .

The political dynamics of the American Civil War raised almost insurmountable obstacles in the path of the moderate reconstruction policy with which Lincoln was associated. Without suggesting that the revolutionary strategy advocated by men like Wendell Phillips or Charles Sumner would have achieved all their hopes for racial justice and Republican rule in the postwar South, it does seem to be true that the radicals advocated a more practical approach than General Banks.

McCrary is correct in asserting that wartime hatreds could not end with Northern victory in 1865, and he is right, too, to think that civil war permitted revolutionary policies unthinkable to American politicians in peacetime. Emancipation itself was one. Finally, it is true that political arithmetic in the Southern states required either black voting, military occupation, or control by ex-Confederates when the war was over.

Lincoln was a good student of political arithmetic. As G.S. Boritt has shown, when Lincoln followed policies at odds with the numerical facts of life (in advocating colonization, for example), he was not paying close attention to the problem at hand. Lincoln avoided the arithmetic of colonization as a psychological necessity, but his defiance of the arithmetic of loyalty in the South was a function of another problem. "Reconstruction was the crucial question of national politics—at least as a theoretical issue—from the moment the states of the lower South seceded from the Union," McCrary says, and this is probably the cardinal point of the new students of reconstruction policy in the Civil War. However, it is not true. The crucial question was winning the war. Though it is proper to see continuities in the hatreds of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, the discontinuities in terms of constitutional possibility and central political concern are important as well.

Lincoln was thinking of winning the war. He thought Federal emancipation would help win it, though it was a peacetime impossibility. He thought Louisiana's political defection from the Confederate States of America would help win it too. He was less interested in Banks's policies than in Banks's speed in bringing Louisiana out of the Confederacy and into the Union. Banks thought much the same way. His "ideological" differences from the local radicals were often actually differences in estimates of what would get Louisiana out of the Confederacy fastest. Otherwise, he would not so clearly appear to be an opponent of Madison Wells in 1865. The political arithmetic of peacetime would face the constitutional conservatism of peacetime. The war was a revolutionary situation only for activities clearly related to warmaking. That situation ended in 1865.

McCrary calls Banks's reasoning "curious" when the general told Lincoln that Louisiana would accept an emancipation forced on it by Banks but would never actually vote for emancipation if a radical constitutional convention offered a free constitution. "Their self-respect, their amour propre, will be appeased if they are not required to vote for or against it," Banks said. Curious this may be, but it is revolutionary logic, and it did recognize the grim political arithmetic of Louisiana's slave society.

It is not a small matter to argue with the thesis of a book, but in this case it by no means threatens the overall worth of the book. McCrary's is the definitive study of Lincoln's Louisiana policy, and it is an enormously informative work. There can be no quarrel with that.

Happily, Princeton University Press served its capable author well. I detected only one typographical error (page 183). The editors allowed a couple of slips here and there: Oliver B. Morton on page 281 should be Oliver P. Morton, and Edwin Bates on page 288 should be Edward Bates. McCrary overuses the verb "demonstrate" and the phrase "on a \_\_\_\_ly basis." Otherwise, the writing and printing are

immaculate. The footnotes are at the bottom of the page, and the editors allow long ones when necessary. Except for the inexplicable absence of a political map of Louisiana, it is a model of book-making, and McCrary's historical work

deserves it.

Beginning with Herman Belz's superb book Reconstructing the Union: Theory and Policy during the Civil War (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), Lincoln students have come increasingly to question the older view that Lincoln would have been "soft" on the South. Most who have done so, however, have been forced to dance around the events in Louisiana, for it is a subject as complex as it is important. Historians need not avoid the subject any more. Peyton McCrary's beautifully written Abraham Lincoln and Reconstruction: The Louisiana Experiment is a detailed but eminently understandable narrative of the history of early attempts to reconstruct Louisiana. The subject of the book is really Louisiana and not Abraham Lincoln, but the events are of such importance for the history of the Lincoln administration that no Lincoln library should be without a copy.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE LOUISIANA EXPERIMENT

by Peyton McCrary



PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

Andrew Johnson (December 29,1808- July 31,1875)

Andrew Johnson was born of lowly parents and in poverty. His father was a man one respected, though poor and of humble condition. Johnson says: "He was an honest and faithful friend-a character I prize higher than all t the wordly fortunes that could have been left to me." There was justification for this pride. His father though a porter, sexton, and janitor was respected by all the people, chosen city constable, and made captain of a militia company. An Accomodating, he was always in demand at barbecues and banquets for the basting of young pigs. A passion for companionship held ham to the town when he co could have bettered himself in the country, and he was lacking in ambition. Plunging into an icy stream to save

twolives, he contracted an illness from which he died, and during his illnes "he was visited by the principal in-

habitants of the crty, by all of whom he was esteemed for

his honesty, industry, and humane and friendly disposition

#### Andrew Johnson

Portrait study from "The Tragic Era" - Bowers

No one could have approached Andrew Johnson without feeling of respect. He always dressed in broadcloth, in perfect taste, and with meticulous care. In outward

appearance, at least, he was a gentleman.

There was a compactness of build that made him, when seated look about medium height, but he was five feet nime and stood erect. Interest is awakened by his face - he seems remarkable, indicating courage, watchfulness, and certainty of purpose. His head is large and shapely with black hair. His eyes are dark, deep-set, and piercing; his mouth has grim lines of determination extending downward from the corners, which some associate with strenght and others with cynicism. At any rate his face had no "Genial sunshine" in it. This was not without reason probable for there were hard and bitter battles he had to fight, and there was long-drawn torture on his pride.

Johnson was eagerto learn. While working he paid ma

to read to him. His favorites were on the political and governmental subjects. His tailor shop soon became a club house of the laborers who had ambitions of their own. To cultivate his natural gift of expression he walked time and again to a college four miles away to match his wits against the most favored students.

With the gradual gaining of knowledge he becamed class conscious. Excluded from the first class and the second he became a leader of the layers, plasterers, shown makers, etc. His shop became a small Jacobin club.

We find him a thorough a and thorough Democrat and never did he deserve the blame he gets of misrepresenting his party (Republican) during his presidency. All throughout his public service he had feeling for the plain people. And although he was a southerner he was strong for the union.

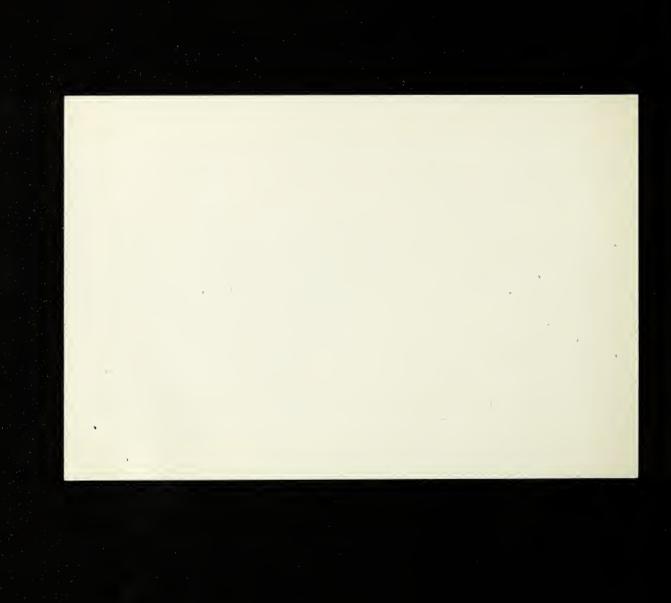
"But Johnson was a drunkard" - and he was nothing of the sort. This slander grew out of his unfortunate condition at the time of his inauguration as Vice\*President. Previous to his inauguration he had been ill, but Lincoln

#### Andrew Johnson Portrait Study -Bowers concluded

urged him to come to Washington anyway. A short time before the ceremonies he complaines of geing faint. A glass of brandy was given to him, which he took without any bad effects. However the heat of the crowded room had its effect and he was sworn into office in a confused state of mind.

The oratory of Johnson was that of the frontier, elemental, without finesse, graceless, void of humor, but often overpowering in its sincerity, and persuasive in its down right honesty. He had a passion for evidence. His voice was musical, and he had great personal magmetism.

He always refused gifts while in public station. Never permitted himself to be under personal obligations. He gave confidence reluctantly.



#### Andrew Johnson

Short Biography

Andrew Johnson was born in Raleigh, N.C. on December 29, 1808. His parents were very poor and when he was only four years of age his father died of injuries received in s saving another from drowning. At the age of ten Andrew was apprenticed to a tailor. He had a natural craving learning. He was taught the alphabet by a fellow workman, borrowed a bood and learned to read. In 1824 he removed to Laurens Court House, S.C. shere he worked as a journeyman tailor. In May 1826, he returned to Raleigh, and in September with his mother and step-father, he set out in a two wheeled cart, drawn by a blind pony, for Greenville, Tenn. Here he married Eliza McCardle, a woman of refinemen who taught him to write and read to him during the day while he was working. It was not until he had been in Congress that he could write with ease. From Greenville he went to the West, but returned after the lapse of a year. In those days Tenn. was controlled by land owners

whose interests were fostered by the state constitution, and Greenville was ruled by what was called an "aristocratic coterie of the quality". Johnson resisted their supremacy and made himself a leader of the opposition. In 1828 he was elected Alderman, in 1829 and 1830 was reelected, and in 1830 was advanced to the mayorality which office he held for 3 th years. In 1831 the conty court appointed him a trustee of Rhea Academy, and about this time he took part in the debates of a society at Greenville College. In 1834 he advocated the adoption of a new state constitution, by which the influence of the large landholders was abridged. In 1835 he represented Greene and Washington Counties in the legislature. He resisted the popular mania for internal improvements, which caused his defeat in 1837, but the reaction justified his foresigh t, strengthened his influence, and restored his popularity. In 1839 he was an elector for the state-at-large on Van Buren's ticket, and made a state reputation by the force of his oratory. In 1831 he was elected to the state senate from Greene and Hawkins counties, and while in that body

Andrew Johnson Short Biography, cont.

he was one of the "immortal 13" Democrats who, having it in their power to prevent the election of a whig senator, did so by refusing to meet the house in joint convention.

In 1843 he was elected to Congress over John A. Asken, a U.S. bank Dem. He supported the annexation of Texas. In 1945 he was elected again. He opposed all expeditures for internal improvements that were not general, and resisted and defeated the proposed tax on tea and coffee. He was regularly re-elected until 1953. During this period he made his celebrated defense of thehomestead law.

In 1853 Hohnson was elected governor of Tenn. By a fair majority. His actions were for the working classes and he earned the title of the "mechanic governor". He opposed the "Know-nothing" movement. In 1855 he was reelected. He

supported the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

In 1857 he was elected to the U.S. senate, where he still urged for the homestead bill. In 1858 he made his greatest speech on this subject. In 1860 he had the pleasure of seeing his bill passed in Congress, but it was

vetoed by the President, but at the Democratic convention he received the vote from Tenn. Alone. In 1860 he took definite grounds in opposition to secession. In returning to Tenn. from Washington he was met by a mob, hissed at, etc. He retained his seat in the senate until appointed by Pres. Lincoln as Military Governor of Tenn. on March 4, 1862. On March 12 he reached Nashville and organized a provisional government for the state.

At the Republican convention in 1864 Mr. Lincoln was renominated and Johnson was put op for Vice-Pres. At the inauguration we find the incident of which caused Johnson to

have been called a drunkard.

On April 15, 1865 Pres. Lincoln was assinated and Mr. Johnson was at once sworn in as Pres. at his rooms in Kirkwood House, by Chief-Justice Chase. It was thought that he did not agree with Lincoln's policy, and his silence in reference to it was accepted as proof that he did not intend to follow this course.

April 29, 1865 Pres. Johnson issued a proclamation for the removal of trade restrictions in most of the insurrect-

Andrew Johnson Short Biography cont.

ionary states. In May he isqued a proclamation restoring Va to the union and by May 22 all parts were open to foreign tr trade except four in Texas.

There was constant conflict of ideas of leniency and the then also the right of be given to the negroes. The Pres. was taken to a great usage of his veto power, but in many cases Congress passed over his veto. Examples were the Civil Rights Bill; Freedmen's Bill; Tenure of Office Bill; etc.

An attempt in 1866 was made to impeach the Pres., but failed. In 1837 the bill was passed to deprive the Pres. the power to proclaim great amnesty, which he disregarded.

Elections of 1866 gave the Republicans two-thirds major ity in the senat e and the house. On August 5, 1867 the Pres. requested Edwin M. Stanton to resign from his office as Sec. of War. Stanton refused and was suspended. Gen. Grant was appointed in his place. When Congress met it refused to ratify the suspension of Stanton and Grant Resigned while it left Stanton to again enter upon his duties.

The Pres. Removed him and appointed Lorenz Thomas. Senate declared this an an unlegal act, and Mr. Stanton refused to comply. In 1868 the house passed a resolution for the impeachment of the Pres. The trial began on March 5th. The main articles of the impeachment were for violating the provisions of the Tenure-of-office act, which it was claimed he had done in order to test its constitutionality. After the trial began, the Pres. made a tour through the West, which was called "Swinging around the circle", . becausein his speeches he declared htat he had swung around the entire circle of offices from alderman to Pres. He made many violent speeches to the crowds; declared the congress then sitting was "Nocongress" because of its refusal to admit the representatives and senators of the South. On his speeches were based the additional articles of impeachment. On May 16 the test vote was had. Thirty five senators were for conviction and nineteen for acquittal. A change in one vote would have carried conviction. After the expiration of his term the Pres. returned to

Tena. He was a candidate for Congress from the State at

andrew Johnson A short biography concluded

large, and though defeated he regained his hold upon the people of the state.

In Jan. 1875 he was elected to the Senate. He visited his daughter who lived near Caiter's Station in east Tenn. There he was stricken with paralysis on July 29 and died the next day. He was buried at Greenville.

# HOMETOWN HEROES



Ralph Phinney has had a warm spot in his heart for Greeneville, Tennessee, for

most of his 95 years. Ralph, who was born in nearby Jonesborough, first started

visiting relatives in Greeneville as a youngster.

"My father was an agent for the Rail-Southern way," he says. "Greeneville was sort of my home away from home in the early 1900s. It was a delightful place to live-and it still is, even though we have grown a lot industrially since World War II."

Greeneville remains a fairly small community today, despite its growth. At the turn of the century, the town had a population of about 2,500. "Nearly 16,000 people live here now," Ralph says.

"Ralph is a living legend in this area," says state Rep. Tommy Haun (R-8th District).

"Through his personal and ex-

traordinary efforts, the legacy of President Andrew Johnson, Greeneville's most famous resident, will remain an essential part of our community for succeeding generations."

When Johnson was 18, in 1826, he came to Greeneville from Raleigh, North Carolina, and opened a tailor shop. Completely self-educated, he later began his political career as a Greeneville alderman, and eventually served as Abraham Lincoln's vice president. On Lincoln's death, Johnson became the 17th U.S. president.

on the papers is finished.

Ralph lives and works in a two-story redbrick house in the heart of downtown's historic district. The house is a replica of one Johnson occupied from 1851 until his death in 1875. It is just three blocks from the Anthe world's largest tobacco markets. Visitors are welcome at the town's dozen or so auction houses, where auctions are held five days a week, November through January.

Ralph settled in Greeneville after graduating with

> electrical engineering degree from Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and after serving in the Army during World War I. "I became somewhat attracted to a business proposition involving rural electrification," Ralph explains. "In October of 1920, I started a business selling electrical systems and appliances for modernizing country homes."

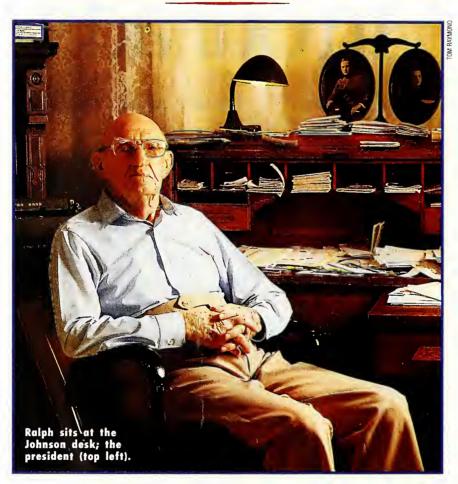
> Ralph owned and managed an electrical contracting business for 61 years, finally retiring in February 1981. He has never married, choosing to devote his time to his profession and to various civic causes that could benefit his from expertise and con-

tacts. For instance he helped persuade the state highway commission to construct a state road through Greeneville.

"The greatest reward of my life has been my age," Ralph says. "That I've been able to be productive during most of those years is even better." —Richard Bak

### TENNESSEE LEGACY

Ralph Phinney has a personal claim to a great deal of Greeneville history.



"I'm the first cousin and legal guardian of Johnson's great-granddaughter," says Ralph, who has been supervising the cataloging of Johnson's correspondence and political papers since 1985. The collection, worth about \$500,000, will be donated to nearby Tusculum College when Ralph's work

drew Johnson National Historic Site. The site includes the original homestead and tailor shop as well as Monument Hill, where Johnson and his descendents are buried. A walking tour of this neighborhood of historic buildings is a favorite of tourists.

Greeneville also is one of

#### EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF LINCOLN'S AND JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION PRESIDENT Abraham Lincoln 1865-1865 Andrew Johnson 1865-1869 VICE PRESIDENT Andrew Johnson 1865-1865 CABINET SECRETARY OF STATE William H. Seward 1865-1865 E. B. Washburn 1865-1869 SECRETARY OF TREASURY Hugh McCulloch 1865-1865 SECRETARY OF WAR Edwin M. Stanton 1865-1867 Ulysses S. Grant 1867-1868 Lorenzo Thomas (not confirmed) 1868-1868 J. M. Schofield 1868-1869 SECRETARY OF NAVY Sideon Welles 1865-1869 SECRETARY OF INTERIOR James Harlan 1865-1866 U. H. Browning 1866-1869 POSTMASTER GENERAL William Denison 1865-1866 Alex. W. Randall 1866-1869 ATTORNEY GENERAL James J. Speed 1865-1866 Henry Stanbery 1866-1868 William M. Evarts 1868-1869 CHIEF JUSTICE Salmon P. Chase 1864-1873 PRESIDENT OF SENATE L. S. Foster 1865-1867 B. F. Wade 1867-1869 SPEAKER OF HOUSE Schuyler Colfax 1865-1869 (HHAP 420)

